

The Pheasant Cap Master

(He guan zǐ)

A Rhetorical Reading



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Carine Defoort

The Pheasant Cap Master (He guan zi)

*SUNY Series in
Chinese Philosophy and Culture*

David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, Editors

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*For my children
Naomi, Sarah and Janne
. . . and in spite of them*

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PREFACE

I came across the *Pheasant Cap Master* (*He guan zi* 鶡冠子) when studying at the University of Hawaii, where several scholars were working on early Chinese texts such as the *Master of Huai nan*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Mister Lü*, and the four silk manuscripts that were discovered two decades ago in a Han tomb near Changsha. We embarked on a reading course of the *Pheasant Cap Master* in expectation of Professor Angus Graham (now deceased) as a visiting professor (1989-90). We knew that he had recently worked extensively on the *He guan zi*, and we hoped that he would enlighten us on the textual and philosophical complexities of this notoriously difficult treatise.

I became acquainted with the rhetorical tradition when studying philosophy at the Catholic University of Leuven. The notion of "rhetoric" has varied widely throughout the Western tradition, ranging from the attempt to defend one's own claims implicit in every instance of communication, to the explicit examination of one's verbal persuasiveness, the "*téchne rhetoriké* (*τέχνη ρητορική*)." Aside from these two basic senses specified by Aristotle at the outset of his book on rhetoric, the term has also come to stand for a specific approach to language and texts, distinguished from the traditional "philosophical" approach for its particular attention to the inevitable dependence and influence of all claims on their cultural, political, emotional, and linguistic contexts.¹

While in the West "rhetoric" has recently been the object of renewed interest, in the field of Chinese studies it has barely received attention. This is due partly to the general consensus that ancient China lacked a rhetorical "art" as it was established in ancient Greece and transmitted as a specific tradition throughout Western civilization.² But few scholars, if any, would deny that

classical Chinese texts are rhetorical in various senses, or that studying them could benefit from a rhetorical approach. Considering the importance of effective speaking and writing in the Chinese tradition, many texts are clearly rhetorical in the first sense pointed out by Aristotle. Given the absence of rhetoric as a longstanding tradition in the second sense, it may be worthwhile to examine the Chinese statements concerning the importance of speech and the power of language as a viable alternative to the Western *Ars rhetorica*. And finally, as a scholar of Chinese philosophy and under the influence of the rhetorical current, I came to realize that the treatises attributed to "Masters" or entered under this category in the traditional bibliographies have not always profited from being called, and thus considered, "philosophy"—a label attributed to them around the turn of this century in an attempt to bring into agreement ancient Chinese and Western bibliographical or intellectual categories.

In this book, the *Pheasant Cap Master* and rhetoric finally meet. The discussion of the textual complexities of the *He guan zi* (chs. 2 to 5) is methodologically rhetorical only in the sense that the traditional and contemporary scholarly evaluations of the Chinese text are not taken as simply either true or false descriptions of the facts but as responses to specific expectations in a concrete context. The interpretation of the content (chs. 6 to 9) is rhetorical in more than one sense: the *Pheasant Cap Master* is read primarily not as a neutral description of reality but as an act embedded in a political context and driven by particular concerns. Attention is furthermore given to some concrete modes of expression and argumentation, rather than to only the ideas conveyed by them. And finally, the author's explicit views on the power, the limitations and the source of language are presented as an undivided Chinese counterpart to what in the West has been split up as either "*Ars rhetorica*" or "philosophy of language." I will argue that these three aspects of the rhetorical approach—the concrete context and the implicit use of and explicit views on language are not only intricately related but also mutually reinforcing. They contribute to the rhetorical intuition that political or moral reality is not a mere given to be discovered by neutral minds, but is also dependent on the words we use to shape it. Although this approach could be adopted for reading other ancient Chinese texts, the *He guan zi* attests to a heightened aware-

ness of this intuition and therefore serves as a vantage point from which the field of surrounding texts will be explored.

Matching Pheasant Cap Master with rhetoric was a slow process. Many people offered valuable assistance by introducing me to one of the two partners or by improving their union through a careful reading of this manuscript. Among them are Quentin Skinner and Christopher Harbsmeier, who sent me valuable material at a very short notice, and Roger Ames, Herman De Dijn, Jos Defoot, Angus Graham, Sam IJsseling, Ulrich Libbrecht, Harold Roth, Nathan Sivin, Benedicte Vaerman, Yang Youwei, and the four reviewers of SUNY Press. I particularly want to thank Roger Ames and Nathan Sivin, who accompanied every step of this venture with unending criticism and support. Thanks also to Jeff Bloechl, who carefully turned my Dutch English into proper English. I nevertheless often remained undecided about the use of a word, especially when it concerned translations from ancient Chinese texts. My decision to stick closely to the original text may not at every instance and by every reader be considered the most fortunate. I was assisted by a crew of computer specialists, among whom are Ludo Meyvis, Marc Schreurs, Veronique Preuveneers, and Karel Van Doren. While all these people have provided many valuable suggestions for the success of this intellectual union, responsibility for the result lies, of course, with the matchmaker alone. I also want to acknowledge the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China for funding three years of studying in Taiwan, and the Universities of Leuven and Pennsylvania for their financial support during two periods of research at Penn. Finally, to my husband, Marc, and to my parents, I want to express a gratitude that goes far beyond the limits of this book.

NOTE ON CITATIONS

All references to the *He guan zi*, except when indicated differently, are to the *Zi hui* edition in *Wan you wen ku*, added at the end of this book. References to ancient Chinese texts are to the title, followed by the chapter in arabic numbers and, if relevant, the page and the line numbers. *He guan zi*, 15:97/3 refers to the third line on page 97 of chapter 15 of the *He guan zi*. The editions of other texts employed are listed in the bibliography. Recent scholarship is referred to in the form: author (year:page note). Specifications in the bibliography make further differentiations or adjustments whenever necessary. Graham (1986.S) and (1986.Y), for instance, refer to different sources by Graham published in 1986. Italics are used for foreign terms or intended stress. Square brackets contain information I have added in translations and citations. Although references to existing translations are given whenever available, I have reworked them when necessary in order to ensure consistency throughout the book.

Chapter I

Pheasant Cap Master and the Paradox of Unity

Fascination and frustration are the two predominant feelings that the *Pheasant Cap Master* (*He guan zi*) has evoked in the field of Chinese philosophy. Listed among the Daoist texts in the bibliographical chapter of the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Han shu* 元氣) and the existence of "laws of nature" in early Chinese thought.¹ But its textual complexities have often turned this interest into irritation, indifference and, ultimately, neglect. Combined with the fact that its author is totally unattested in historical sources, these complexities have saddled the *Pheasant Cap Master* with the label of "forgery" (*wei shu* 偽書). The text has suffered recurrent criticism concerning its many corrupt passages, its "base and shallow" style, its accretion over time, and its content, which is confused to the point of being internally inconsistent. Joseph Needham's unwillingness to elaborate on some "strangely interesting passages" of the *He guan zi*, due to its textual complexity and uncertain dates, typifies this ambiguous and predominantly negative attitude toward the text. "This work is extremely difficult to date because it is highly composite.... Until it[s] date] has been critically established," he claims, "interpretations are premature" (Needham, 1956:547).

From the Tang to the Qing dynasty, the *Pheasant Cap Master* was almost unanimously condemned as unworthy of scholarly attention. This negative verdict was challenged for the first time

during the Qing dynasty by the editors of the *Si ku quan shu* and by *He guan zi* scholars such as Yu Yue, Sun Yirang, and Wang Kaiyun.² But it has been only during the past two decades that *He guan zi* studies have gained some momentum, due mainly to the discovery, in a Han tomb near Changsha, of four silk manuscripts that share expressions, ideas, and stylistic peculiarities with it.³ The *Pheasant Cap Master* has nevertheless remained a largely unexplored field, with the exception of one full-scale modern commentary by Zhang Jincheng (1975) and one free translation by Pu Weizhong (1992), both in Chinese. There is as yet no complete translation of the *Pheasant Cap Master* in any other language.

Although one need not wait for the very last textual complexity to be resolved before entering into some philosophical investigation, an analysis of the *Pheasant Cap Master's* philosophy has quite naturally been preceded by an evaluation of its sinological value. Therefore, in addition to a dozen articles, most in Chinese, a few major studies have been devoted to its textual complexities.⁴ As a result, scholarly opinion among *He guan zi* scholars has turned from an overwhelmingly negative verdict, whether wholesale or partial, to a cautiously positive defense. There is nowadays a tendency to believe that the text is more unified, coherent, and authentic than was long thought the case.⁵ Although to date not a single book has been written on its content, a few philosophical articles on the *Pheasant Cap Master* have recently seen the light.⁶

However, this recent rehabilitation of the *Pheasant Cap Master* among a small number of scholars has not determined the general consensus. Discussion continues between those who reject the text because of its obvious fragmentation and others who have reinstated the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a valuable text by reconstructing its unified philosophy on the basis of the extant fragments. Both the rejection and the rehabilitation of the *Pheasant Cap Master* are supported by a general unease with its fragmentation and a shared expectation of unity—feelings that themselves have seldom been explicitly reconsidered.

1.1. Expectations of Unity

As a Chinese author long ago remarked, any discussion or claim to knowledge depends on a common ground which itself remains out of

view (*Zhuang zi*, 25:71/52-3, tr. Graham, 1986:102). In the field of *He guan zi* studies, this common ground is the expectation of unity. Scholars have treated the *Pheasant Cap Master* as one book, thus naturally expecting one author at one moment in time to be expressing one coherent set of ideas. Because the *Pheasant Cap Master* has disappointed these expectations, it has caused some to reject it as a forgery and others to rework it into respectable philosophy. Both reactions are constructed on an intricate network of implicit negotiations of unity.

The Search for Unity

When we listen to a presentation or read a book, we expect to find unity in it: one person, at one time, expressing a unified or coherent set of ideas. Apparent contradictions, abrupt changes of topic or style, and a seemingly incoherent line of thought all prompt the listener or reader to search for a more fundamental unity. The assumption that the statements of an author are connected to each other, relevant to the topic, more or less interesting and understandable, is not merely a familiar attitude but can even be a moral obligation. The "principle of cooperation," as H. Grice calls it, demands that the reader search for unity in a given text.⁷ When a colleague at work responds to a nasty remark about the boss with a complacent "nice weather today," everyone assumes—or ought to assume—that he is not providing us with meteorological information. This assumption, of course, is based on the expectation that there is a connection that unites the two apparently unrelated remarks.

The interpretation of a book as foreign and ancient as the *Pheasant Cap Master* makes higher claims on the reader's imaginative capacity to discover such links. Although there is a logical possibility that its roughly 15,000 characters are the result of a lunatic randomly copying fragments of texts blown to him in a hurricane, the principle of cooperation—the first condition for good interpretation—is to assume the exact opposite. One's reading ought to be directed by a cluster of overlapping expectations of unity: grammatical unity in the reconstruction of phrases and sentences, textual unity in the recognition of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a relevant collection of chapters or passages, and authorial unity

in the attribution of its core to one author or group of like-minded authors.

The Paradox of Unity

Compliance with the principle of cooperation, however familial or moral it may appear, is also problematic. Unity lies in the eye of the beholder and is therefore never innocent. Because it is attributed to the text rather than merely discovered in it, unity is never an absolute given, but depends on the degree and type of unity that the reader expects. The principle of cooperation ought therefore to be handled with a considerable amount of self-awareness and indulgence.

The notion of one author expressing one coherent set of ideas is an unattainable ideal. Multiple authorship is characteristic of every text: even a single modern author gathers ideas from others, implicitly cites from a corpus of texts, and, in making his argument, aims at coherence. How well he or she succeeds in avoiding contradictions and confusion remains a matter of judgment by critics and readers. The multiplicity of authorship of an ancient Chinese text such as the *Pheasant Cap Master* is more obvious: texts circulating under one name were usually collections of treatises written by several authors, and the habit of borrowing passages from other texts or from a common lore was the rule rather than the exception. Even when taking into account all the later hands of commentators, forgers, and scribes who have contributed to its present shape, the obvious multiple authorship of the *Pheasant Cap Master* differs only as a matter of degree from modern assumptions concerning single authorship.⁸

Unity is not only a matter of degree but also belongs to a context of particular expectations. Reasons for reconstructing or abandoning a text are themselves built on specific expectations of unity. Confronted with the fragments of the extant text, an early scribe may have been tempted to restore the *Pheasant Cap Master* by embellishing its style, while present-day supporters of the text would tend to reconstruct its content in philosophical theories or a set of principles, on the presumption that a coherent system must have existed, albeit only inside the author's mind. The same mecha-

nism operates on the critical side: the frequent charges of spurious-ness leveled against the *Pheasant Cap Master* because of its confused content, abnormal accretion, incoherent style, and corrupt text ultimately emerge from frustrated expectations of unity and from specific criteria for what is "clear," "normal," "coherent," and "authentic."

Even the most impatient and critical evaluation of the text inevitably appeals to some kind of unity. The intellectual act of describing disunity itself requires an appeal to unity. In explaining a person who does not make sense as schizophrenic or absentminded, we impart to him or her a new sort of unity and conditions of identity, however vague. The arguments used against the authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* thus have, ironically, attributed to the work such alternative forms of unity. Its earliest characterization, in the Tang dynasty (and often repeated since), is that of "forgery." Arguments in favor of this description have entailed several variations on a theme, such as the hypothesis that it is a "conscious fabrication" by ignorant amateurs, sometimes attended by accusations of plagiarism. Or it has been explained as an "unintended forgery," caused by a commentarial interpolation or a conflation of at least two different books.

A simultaneous reconsideration of both a specific piece of evidence and the expectations which make it relevant may qualify the demand for unity without radically rejecting the principle of cooperation. The *He guan zi's* early resistance to almost all expectations of unity can, moreover, serve as a source of positive insight. It might alert us not only to the fact that *no* interpretation, however careful, is innocent, but also to the inextricable connection between fragmentation and unity.

1.2. A Celebration of Fragments

This book approaches the extant *Pheasant Cap Master* as a collection of fascinating ruins standing amid the landscape of ancient Chinese texts, by focusing on its textual and philosophical fragmentation. An illustration of the positive appreciation of fragmentation in the field of history is Arthur Waldron's study of the Great Wall, China's symbol of unity. The Great Wall is usually thought of as one

continuous construction, originally built at one moment in time and conceived for one particular aim. By tracing the various short walls erected at different moments in the Chinese past, invariably following a complex political controversy as to their function and efficiency, Waldron has deconstructed this myth of unity into fragments of material, time, and function without, however, denying its cultural value and national importance (Waldron, 1992). In a similar vein, and without thereby renouncing the principle of cooperation, the present study seeks to provide the *Pheasant Cap Master* with a place in Chinese intellectual history as a fragmented wall.

Textual Unity in Expectations and Explanations

To unravel the intricate cluster of textual complexities into relatively separate discussions, part 1 of this book is organized according to the four types of evidence that Harold Roth has distinguished in his study of the textual history of the *Huai nan zi*: biographical, bibliographical, commentarial, and textual evidence (Roth, 1992:9-10). Each kind of evidence entails particular expectations of unity, generating different kinds of frustration, and, ultimately, leading *He guan zi* scholars to explain the textual complexities in terms of alternative types of unity. The four chapters of part 1 provide, in roughly chronological order, an evaluation of the traditional arguments, joining the discussion by analyzing what seems in each instance to be the most relevant case study.

Two traditional cornerstones of biographical evidence discussed in chapter 2 concern the dates of the author and his place of origin. The earliest information on Pheasant Cap Master is from the Han dynasty: it is cryptic, dubious, and has no other source than the text itself. But it attests to the tendency, which existed already in the Zhou dynasty, to gather a collection of writings under a single name, thus providing it with some sort of unity. As the biographical evidence on Pheasant Cap Master increases, it also becomes more confusing, thus arousing discussion of its putative author and ultimately casting doubt on the value of the book. One way of explaining contradictory biographical information is to reconstruct the author's life, taking geographical changes into account. The most recurrent

explanation, however, appeals to multiple authorship, thus calling the strict demands of single authorship into question.

The first organization of bibliographical information in Chinese history and the oldest bibliographical evidence on the *Pheasant Cap Master* both date from the Han dynasty. This information consists of the stipulated length and philosophical filiation of a text in the bibliographical notices and catalogues of imperial and private collections. As shown in chapter 3, on both counts the evidence on the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been so inconsistent across history that it has reinforced doubts about the authenticity of the extant Daoist text in nineteen chapters. The alternative explanations suggested are, first, the possibility that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is a conflation of several texts and, second, the hypothesis that one author changed his philosophical affiliation during the process of writing.

Commentarial evidence on the *Pheasant Cap Master*, presented in chapter 4, consists mainly of comments on the text since the Tang dynasty. They basically express a concern with stylistic coherence, which emerged as a criterion for evaluating texts during the Chinese Middle Ages. In the case of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the expectation of stylistic coherence became so strong that it dominated the discussion until the beginning of this century. Great stylistic differences within some chapters gave rise to charges of plagiarism.

Textual evidence, finally, is a very recent concern. As a result of the growing interest in philology during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and the emergence of textual criticism in this century, scholars have started to compare variants from different editions and older quotations in search of the "ancestor" of all presently corrupt editions. In addition to prompting both condemnation and neglect of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the recent attention to textual corruptions has led to a new explanation: the hypothesis of commentarial interpolations.

Intellectual Unity in Various Reconstructions

Having resolved major textual complexities and freed the text of those dubious passages, some scholars have embarked upon an

investigation of the content of the *He guan zi*. On the assumption that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is a "philosophical" text, and urged on by expectations traditionally associated with such writings, the conventional approach has been to reconstruct its fragmentary content into unitary metaphysical, epistemological, and political theories. Although Western philosophers have tended to consider the Chinese Masters too fragmented, rhetorical, and mundane to count as genuine "philosophy," sinologists have often provided such reconstructions as the most charitable approach to these texts. Instead of joining these efforts, part 2, which can be read independently from part 1, explores alternative ways to comply with the principle of cooperation, seeking more positive explanations for what only seems to be fragmentation when viewed from a "philosophical" perspective.

Since their first emergence on Greek soil, "philosophy" and "rhetoric" have been engaged in a "quarrel" in terms of which, according to Stanley Fish, "the history of Western thought could be written." Many such histories have indeed been written, with predictably different emphases, depending on the intellectual affiliation of the writer (Fish, 1989:484). While "philosophers" consider rhetoric a biased and therefore inferior type of philosophy, the "rhetorical" tradition considers every text rhetorical, traditional philosophy included.⁹ A "rhetorical" approach to the *Pheasant Cap Master* thus inevitably entails a characterization of its content as "rhetorical." Given the almost total absence of this "quarrel" in ancient China, the term *rhetoric* needs to be qualified in contrast to its Western connotations, an endeavor to which part 2 is devoted.¹⁰

Chapter 6 describes Master He guan as a rhetorician, not, of course, in the sense that he joined the "rhetorical" countercurrent against a predominantly "philosophical" tradition—there was no such tradition—or in Aristotle's second and most favored sense that he provided an examination of one's verbal persuasiveness. The author was a rhetorician in the first and most familiar sense: he tried to uphold an argument, defend himself, and accuse others.¹¹ A treatise such as the *Pheasant Cap Master* is primarily an act of persuasion, not just a description of reality. The discussion of the content of this ancient Chinese treatise, therefore, attempts to reconstruct the general political context in which the author's most tenacious assertions and recurrent complaints are to be situated.

Another sense in which the *Pheasant Cap Master* can be said to be rhetorical is in its language use. Aside from the concrete context, the actual form of the used language is often neglected in a "philosophical" reading and is considered merely the irrelevant mode of transportation of the intellectual content. The language on which chapter 7 focuses is the judicious use of words, the stress on how one calls something (*suo wei* 所謂), and the function of definitions in the book. He guan zi's use of language attests to a growing awareness and exploitation of its power and influence on political reality. The type of coherence attributed to the treatise in this chapter, therefore, concentrates on its modes of argumentation, presenting the content only as an illustration of the author's powerful use of language. Rather than lacking "philosophical" rigor, the abundance of short passages and various redefinitions in the *Pheasant Cap Master* provides its readers with a rich spectrum of politically and morally loaded insights.

The final two chapters of this work are rhetorical in the sense that they elaborate on the explicit statements on language in the *He guan zi* and reconstruct the content of the book by focusing directly on its ideas concerning, respectively, the power of "names" and the realm beyond names. The author's views on names discussed in chapter 8 fall between the Western categories of, on the one hand, systematic elaborations on the persuasive power of speech (*téchne rhetoriké*) and, on the other, philosophical theories of language that tend to attribute to reality an unquestioned dominance over language. The views on "names" (*ming* 名) expressed in the *He guan zi* attest to an awareness of the growing importance of language as indicated by its increasingly explicit use. The views expressed in chapter 8 therefore further illustrate and explicitly support rhetorical claims and modes of argumentation discussed in the two previous chapters. Rather than considering names of peripheral importance to He guan zi's view of reality—as "philosophy" tends to do—reality is presented through the spectrum of names, as one of the norms for naming.

The realm beyond names presented in chapter 9, finally, is not a systematic presentation of all the topics that have hitherto been left out of the discussion, but a reconstruction of the author's views on the "unnamed." He guan zi's fascination with the "metalinguistic"—the nameless—thus functions as a rhetorical counter-

part to the conventional appeal to a "meta-physical" realm, an appeal that seems to be absent in pre-Buddhist Chinese thought.

The positive appreciation of fragmentation that has driven the present study is influenced by the recent revival of the "rhetorical" tradition. In part 1, this approach is adapted implicitly by reconsidering the textual complexities of the *Pheasant Cap Master* together with the unquestioned expectations of unity that have undergirded the traditional evaluations. The interpretation of the content as a rhetorical text in part 2 reinforces this approach. The political context of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the concerns of its author, and his concrete modes of expression attest to an implicit use of language that is explicitly attested in his views on the power, the limitations, and the source of language. This alternative approach to the fragments constituting the *Pheasant Cap Master* certainly does not deny the text any unity but tries to appreciate the inherent complexity of this notion. While it does not invalidate a "philosophical" reading of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, it certainly does contest its claim of exclusivity.¹²

PART ONE
THE PHEASANT CAP MASTER AS A FRAGMENTED TEXT

Chapter 2

Biographical Evidence and Expectations Concerning Unity of Authorship

Concerning the dates and origin of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, two traditional cornerstones of authorial unity, the text itself remains silent. The second question—He guan zi's place of origin—is today not frequently discussed. Most interrogators of the *Pheasant Cap Master* are satisfied with the idea that the "Chinese" philosopher lived in China. But exactly what was China in He guan zi's days? This concern inevitably draws one back to the first question: When did Pheasant Cap Master live?

During the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1122/1045-256/221 B.C.) the "central states" (*zhong guo* 中國), known as heirs of the Xia and Shang dynasties and as the cradle of Chinese culture, became slowly involved with the increasingly powerful periphery of surrounding states. With the Qin dynasty, China came into being as a unified, bureaucratic empire. Where do we locate Pheasant Cap Master in this pivotal period? Was he from a central or a peripheral state? Did he live before or after the unification under the Qin, or the centralization of power by the Han? Pheasant Cap Master may, of course, have moved from one court to another, as several Chinese Masters did. His life may also have extended across time periods, so that he experienced the dynastic changes of this formative era in Chinese history. Changes in place and time are, indeed, the most obvious grounds for explaining disunity within a text while preserving the notion of single authorship.

During the turbulent period in which most of the *Pheasant Cap Master* was probably written, change was the order of the day. Not only did people move in time and space, but time and space, so to speak, moved under their feet: the whole social, political and geographical world was crumbling down in a current of rapid change. Without taking a step, Pheasant Cap Master may have belonged to both the states of Zhao 赵. And within the space of twenty years, he may have been a subject of no fewer than three different dynasties: the Zhou, Qin, and Han.

With respect to all these events, Pheasant Cap Master remains silent. The text, however, provides more clues than its author may have wished. All existing information about the author is actually derived from the text. The most obvious hints have become the content of biographical and bibliographical notices, while more subtle speculations have emerged with the recent increase in scholarly interest. Even the mysterious character of the text has been a resource for inferences about the dates and place of origin of its author.

2.1. Place of Origin in Biographical and Bibliographical Notices

The oldest type of unity attributed to the *Pheasant Cap Master* can be found in brief notices from the Han dynasty onward: the unity of authorship. Even during the Zhou dynasty there was a tendency to ascribe writings to one person, such as the *Guan zi* 关子 (d. 338 B.C.). *Although this ascription did not necessarily entail the claim that the historical person had literally written all of the treatises, the single name of the collection provided the assemblage of writings with some kind of unity.*

The oldest extant information about the *Pheasant Cap Master* is bibliographical: having classified the *Pheasant Cap Master* under the Daoist lineage (dao jia 道家) in the bibliographical chapter of the

History of the Han Dynasty (Han shu), Ban Gu 風俗通義).¹ Reasons for locating the author in Chu are abundant, the most prominent among them being the use in chapter 9, "Kingly Blade" (*Wang fu* 令尹 (Chancellor) for the two highest offices.

The *Seven Summaries (Qi lüe* 劉欣 (d. A.V. 23) to the Han court in 6 B.C., was lost during the medieval period and now survives only in the form of quotations in other works. This source, still earlier than the *History of the Han Dynasty*, implies information on He guan zi's place of origin. It says, "Pheasant Cap Master lived deep in the mountains. He made his hat with pheasant feathers. Hence, he was called 'Pheasant Cap Master'" (*Tai ping yu lan*, 685.6a).² No explicit location, but two clues, are given: the deep mountains and the pheasant cap. Both hint in the direction of the state of Zhao rather than Chu.

As for the first clue, it is not clear from the text what would suggest that Pheasant Cap Master lived as a recluse in the deep mountains. According to A. C. Graham, it is the general nature of the work, belonging "to the special class of esoteric books written under a pseudonym presumed to hide the identity of a mysterious recluse from whom some great man learned his secrets" (Graham: 1989.H:505). In the case of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, this "great man" must have been General Pang Xuan 煥³ are the teachers of the kings of Zhao, and in five other chapters a certain Pang zi is He guan zi's disciple. Pang Xuan was, furthermore, the commander-in-chief of the last anti-Qin campaign in 241 B.C. He must have shared the aversion to Qin policies that can be discerned throughout the *Pheasant Cap Master* (see p. 20). If Pheasant Cap Master wanted to present himself as the unknown teacher of this famous

general and respected adviser to kings, the author associated his work with the state of Zhao rather than Chu. Unluckily for him, Pang Xuan's reputation disappeared together with Zhao, the state for which he fought. In tying his book to the fortune of this temporarily famous general, Graham concludes, Pheasant Cap Master backed the wrong horse (Graham: 1989.H: 506).

Another thread of information in the *Seven Summaries* leading to the state of Zhao comes from He guan zi's name. A cap decorated with two short pheasant feathers was a symbol of courage and martial valor. The chapter "Carriages and garments," B (*Yu fu, xia* 志, 30.3670, tr. Mansvelt Beck, 1990:252). ⁴ Although not explicit about He guan zi's place of origin, the *Seven Summaries* seems to twice hint at Zhao: the state for which Pang Xuan fought against Qin, and where King Wuling 武靈 installed the pheasant cap as a military headdress. Ban Gu, however, did not follow up on these hints and explicitly located the author of the *Pheasant Cap Master* in Chu.

One wonders whether Liu Xin and Ban Gu saw different versions or different portions of the extant *Pheasant Cap Master*. Liu Xin's description fits with a military *Pheasant Cap Master*, which Ban Gu may have excised when drawing up his bibliographical chapter. Ban Gu concludes his description of the "Tactics and Strategy" (*quan mou* 兵家) section with the following remark: "I have excised the Yi Yin, Tai Gong, Guan zi, Sun qing zi, He guan zi, Su zi, Kuai Tong, Lu Jia, King of Huai nan: 259 duplicates. I took out the Sima Fa and entered it under the 'Ritual' rubric" (*Han shu*, 30.1757). Rather than excising exact duplicates, Ban Gu may have collated a "military" *Pheasant Cap Master* from Zhao with a "Daoist" *Pheasant Cap Master* from Chu. But judging from his detailed account concerning the points at

which his text deviates from the *Seven Summaries*, one would expect that he would have indicated this.⁵

References to He guan zi in the medieval sources *Biographies of Various Immortals* (*Lie xian zhuan* 太平御覽). A notice attributed to the *Biographies of Various Immortals*, but not preserved in the extant version of the work, elaborates on Ban Gu's remarks:

Some say that he was a man from Chu. Living as a hermit, his clothes were threadbare and his shoes worn out. With pheasant feathers he made a cap. Since no one knew his name, they relied on his dress to constitute his title. He wrote a book on Daoist affairs...

The closing line follows up Liu Xin's notice and seems to make explicit what was only suggested there: "Feng [sic]⁶ Xuan constantly took him as his master and served him" (*Tai ping yu lan*, 602. 1b).

Yuan Shu 袁淑 (A.D. 408-453) copied this information in the *Biographies of Genuine Hermits*, a work of which only parts survive in encyclopedic sources. He adds a few lines that make more explicit the association of Pheasant Cap Master with the state of Zhao by explaining why the Master went hiding in the deep mountains: "Xuan later became illustrious in Zhao. Pheasant Cap Master was afraid to be recommended by him, and thus broke with Xuan" (*Tai ping yu lan*, 510.4b-5a, 410.6a-b). This sudden appearance of Pang Xuan from Zhao in the post-Han notices, combined with the apparent growth of the length of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, has given rise to the suspicion that other materials were conflated with it (see pp. 41-43). The explicit information contained in the medieval notices is actually nothing more than a combination and further elaboration of clues present in the Han sources: the *Seven Summaries* and the *History of the Han Dynasty*, respectively ascribing the *Pheasant Cap Master* to a general from Zhao and a Daoist hermit from Chu.

2.2. He guan zi's Place of Origin and Dates

Although the notices are apparently constructed from no other sources than the text itself and contain hardly any information, the

attribution of the text to an author seems to have been the first and foremost task to fulfill. Apparently without any other source of information than the text itself, the biographical information has nonetheless continued to grow from the Han dynasty onward. As a result, present scholarship has turned from the inflated traditional notices to the text itself as a direct source of information. Attention has also shifted from the alleged author's place of origin to his dates.

He guan zi's Place of Origin

There has been relatively little discussion on He guan zi's place of origin. Scholars have mainly discovered in the text additional reasons for locating the author in Chu or Zhao. While the pheasant cap and references to the Pangs argue for Zhao, indications that the *Pheasant Cap Master* was written in Chu have been gradually increasing: political titles such as *zhu guo* (Pillar of State) and *ling yin* (Chancellor); terminology; rhyme patterns; and textual parallels with other texts from the South, such as the four *Silk Manuscripts* unearthed in Hunan; chapter 21 of the *Discourses of the States* (*Guo yu* 劉安 in the South).⁷

But no evidence is beyond doubt, not even the oldest and most often repeated evidence deriving from the titles "Pillar of State" and "Chancellor." The terms occur in chapter 9, in a passage that is very similar to passages in the *Discourses of States* (*Guo yu*) and *Master Guan* (*Guan zi*). It is actually a passage for which Pheasant Cap Master has been accused of plagiarism by Wang Yinglin 齊 and ascribes the highest positions to Guo

zi 高子; in the *Pheasant Cap Master* the two highest posts are particular to the state of Chu: the "Pillar of State" and the "Chancellor." ⁸ The question of whether the author has borrowed these passages from the *Guan zi* or the *Guo yu* is not the issue here (see pp. 45-52). Even if he did, the explicit adaptation of the titles would still be an indication that his home state was Chu.

Critics of this location in Chu on the basis of these two titles have usually not merely presented an alternative place of origin but expressed doubt concerning the unity and authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. According to Qian Mu (錢穆), according to Qian Mu, "terms which were known before the Qin but not used in a system to abolish feudalism and unify the state, as in chapter 9 of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Probably, later people seeing that the *History of the Han Dynasty* ascribed the text to a person from Chu, have simply interpolated it into the work." Conclusion: the *Pheasant Cap Master* is a text from the state of Zhao forged by a person from Chu (Qian Mu, 1986:484-85).

This argument has, in turn, given rise to several responses: while some argue that the described system was realized in several states before the Qin dynasty, others claim that Pheasant Cap Master may have been outlining a political utopia rather than describing an existing system in the state of Chu—not at all an exceptional thing to do in Chinese philosophy. Besides, the *Pheasant Cap Master* may have been written, completely or partially, after the Qin dynasty.⁹ There was a "Pillar of State" under King Huai of Chu (r. 208-206 B.C.), the puppet of Xiang Yu (*Shi ji*, 16.768, tr. Chavannes, 1967:III:53).

A further indication of a location in Chu, hitherto little explored, is that of the political sensibilities that radiate from the *Pheasant Cap Master*: rivalry combined with defeat, frustration, and rancor. This mixture of feelings is most definitely present in chapter 7, "Surpassed from Nearby" (*Jin die 近迭*),¹⁰ in which the author alludes to a certain state that, in spite of its military superi-

ority, has lost dominance. The cause of its defeat is, according to the author, the arrogant attitude of the pivotal figure of the state: the ruler. He guan zi's complaint is presented as an answer to Pang zi's remark:

Your disciple heard people say: "With a huge territory the state is wealthy,"¹¹ with a vast population the army is strong, and with a strong army one realizes one's intention in the empire first."... Today, the armies of large states are, on the contrary, frustrated and orders are not obeyed: why is it that when forbidden, they don't stop, and when ordered, they don't proceed? (7:34/7-10, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:73-75)

He guan zi points out that winning the people over is a more efficient kind of warfare than conquering the territory by shedding blood. The classical corpus often associates the failure to carry through this policy with Chu.¹² This southern state had a bad reputation in this respect, taking whatever it could with no regard for past agreements or possible consequences. Therefore, as a great power it was often plagued by disaffections among its allies. In the *Xun zi* 荀子 and the *Huai nan zi*, for instance, the problem is expressed in wording very similar to Pang zi's question, but in both cases Chu is explicitly named as the powerful state with a vast population and strong army defeated by Qin.¹³ Animosity toward Qin is never explicitly expressed in the *Pheasant Cap Master*— maybe for good reason—but there definitely is a desire for strength, unification, and power, according to Graham, cherished by a "writer recommending to Chu the Legalist policies which have made its rival Qin so strong" (Graham, 1989.H:518).

Although there is no final proof, the indications that a major portion of the *Pheasant Cap Master* was written in Chu have become so compelling that many present-day scholars have come to accept this location without further argument. This does not necessarily contradict the alternative suggestion that Zhao was He guan zi's state of birth. One has only to consider, as Neugebauer suggests, that *Pheasant Cap Master* may have moved from Chu to Zhao, or even that Zhao, so to speak, had "moved" to Chu during the political hiatus between Qin and Han under the reign of Xiang Yu. Such claims to changes in place and time provide, moreover, convincing

rationale for unity of authorship, despite contradictions in the content of the text.¹⁴

He guan zi's Dates

Speculations about He guan zi's place of origin inevitably lead one to the question of his dates and the nature of the text. While the early notices do not explicitly mention any dates, their mere existence in the *Seven Summaries* and *History of the Han Dynasty* indicates the existence of a *Pheasant Cap Master* before the end of the early Han. This leaves us with two important unanswered questions: Which parts of the extant *Pheasant Cap Master* belong to the core that Liu Xin and Ban Gu saw? And when was this core written: before the unification of the Chinese empire, under the Qin dynasty, during the political hiatus preceding the Han, during the early Han, or during several of these historically crucial stages?

As for the first question, many Chinese scholars, beginning with Song Lian (四庫正統), hesitates aloud: "I am confused by this work, and honestly find it hard to decide whether it is a Warring States document. But texts with strange and mysterious language and style have existed in all times. It doesn't seem to have been the work of a post *Dong jing* (Later Han) person." The answer for him lies in the hypothesis of a fabrication: "Shallow and base people from a later time added to it with their own ideas and transmitted it as such" (*Si bu zheng e*, 24).

Later scholars such as Liang Qichao (梁啟超), though suspicious about the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a whole, have also resisted a late dating of its core.¹⁵ Even accusations of forgery by, for instance, Qian Mu, are made on the assumption of an authentic core. Questions concerning the dates of the extant *Pheasant Cap Master* thus lead to discussions of its authenticity and to the hypotheses about plagiarism, commentarial interpolation, and conflation (see pp. 41-43, 74-78).

The core of the *Pheasant Cap Master*—or the whole text for those who do not question its authenticity—has generally been

situated in the fourth to third century B.C. With the rekindled interest in the text beginning in the seventies, and its obscure relation with the four newly discovered *Huang lao* 黃老 manuscripts, the dates of the *Pheasant Cap Master* have become a topic of controversy, and the consensus among scholars has evolved from the fourth to third century B.C. to the late third century B.C., between late Zhou and early Han. But, as short as it is, this period needs further specification because of its pivotal importance in Chinese history and philosophy. While many arguments on dating merely confirm this general consensus, some try to cut through it by locating the author in one particular period—before the unification, during the Qin dynasty, during the political hiatus, or in the Former Han—or by reconstructing his life story as an evolution through several of these shorter periods.

The syncretic content of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, for instance, has been used as the basis for a Zhou dating by some scholars and for a Han dating by others.¹⁶ And so has the author's remarkable stress on *yi* —: uniqueness, unity, or unification.¹⁷ Stress on unity in astrology, cosmology, religion, politics, and military organization was indeed a characteristic of this period, but perhaps too vague a criterion for determining one specific subperiod.

The same holds for terminological arguments. In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, as in other third-century B.C. texts, the abundance of characters expressing "order," meaning decree as well as regularity, is striking: *zhi* 𠄎 (five processes/phases) also regularly occur in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, but without any consistent order.¹⁹

Another type of evidence used in arguments on dating is the grammar, more specifically the use of particles. A. C. Graham has applied a list of eleven linguistic tests to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, concluding in favor of a pre-Han dating of the text (Graham:

1989.H:504-5). Although the list of nine criteria drawn up by Bernhard Karlgren was originally meant to distinguish between different dialects, he expanded his conclusions to what he calls "3rd century (B.C.) literary Chinese," as distinguished from older texts (Karlgren, 1926:64).

Elsewhere, I have applied these two sets of criteria to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, with the result that the consensus was again largely confirmed. However, there were exceptions, which may turn out to be the most valuable results of applying such linguistic tests. Even if a particular set of linguistic rules is not beyond doubt, exceptions to these rules, if not single cases, may indicate another author's hand within the text. Grammatical tests, even though not perfectly reliable when dating the whole text, may thus provide interesting information for checking portions of the text and for testing hypotheses, such as conflation and multiple authorship (see pp. 41-43) ²⁰

Finally, parallel texts have also been cited in arguments on dating: since the traditional charge by Liu Zongyuan 劉宗元 7 chapters.²¹ Considering the uncertain dates of the *Pheasant Cap Master* and at least some (portions) of these other works, the direction of borrowing remains difficult to establish. To the extent that these works, their older versions, and their own sources (which may now be lost) date from, at the latest, the third century B.C., the direction of borrowing is not terribly relevant for the *Pheasant Cap Master's* dates. As pointed out earlier, borrowing from each other or from a common lore was the rule rather than the exception. The terminology, themes, and parallel text shared among these works mainly confirm the general consensus that *Pheasant Cap Master* dates from the third and second centuries B.C. and that, whatever its relation to them, it belongs to the same intellectual milieu.

Only with Jia Yi's *Owl Rhapsody* is the direction of "borrowing" relevant for the dates of the *Pheasant Cap Master*: the parallel is so

exceptionally long and close that the relationship is quite exclusive. It is fairly clear that one of the two must have plagiarized from the other. If the traditional charge is correct, the *Pheasant Cap Master*, or at least that part of chapter 12, "Arms of the Age" (*Shi bing* 世兵), must postdate the poem that Jia Yi wrote in June 174 B.C., three years after being sent to the South as grand tutor to the king of Changsha (*Shi ji*, 84.2491-503, tr. Watson, 1961:I:508-16). In chapter 4, I will take up the discussion of this major parallel and the charge that it was plagiarized from Jia Yi.

2.3. Further Considerations Concerning Authorship

However convincing these indications concerning content, terminology, and textual parallels are as a general characterization of the period in which at least the core *Pheasant Cap Master* was written, they remain too vague to situate the author more precisely in time. The following arguments are more tentative but also more interesting in that they do not simply confirm the consensus but cut through it.

Taboo-Characters

Taboo-characters as arguments for dating the *Pheasant Cap Master* have been brought up only recently, and conclusions are still tentative. The only character that has received attention in this respect is *zheng* 端.²² According to Wu Guang 吳光, only in chapters 1 and 2 is *zheng* consciously and systematically replaced by *duan*:

Most of the chapters in the *Pheasant Cap Master* don't taboo 諱, which shows that it was not written during the reign of

the First or the Second Emperor of Qin. But *Broad Selection* [ch. 1] and *Calling Attention to the Rare* [ch. 2] clearly taboo it: not only are the two characters absent from the text, but in the places where *zheng* [correct] should have been written, *duan* is used, as in the line from *Broad Selection*: "The lord is who corrects [*duan*] the spirits and illumined" and in the line from *Calling Attention to the Rare*: "The independent [*duan*] and leaning having their positions, their names and titles don't leave them." This shows that the two chapters were written under the Qin. (Wu Guang, 1985:157)²³

Not every occurrence of *duan* indicates the observance of the taboo for *zheng*. One can only assume that *duan* stands for *zheng* if it occurs in a combination where one would normally expect *zheng* or in a close parallel where the use of *zheng* is actually attested. Wu Guang's intuition has been confirmed by two such parallels within and beyond the text of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.²⁴ But however tantalizing, the observance of a taboo does not yield much reliable information: the application of taboo-rules was not very strict during the Qin, and the taboo may have been inserted or removed by a later hand in copying the text. But allowing for some degree of consistency to the scribe, it remains intriguing and possibly relevant that the taboo is observed in only the first two chapters. Assuming that the taboo was enforced only after the First Emperor's death in 210 B.C. and during the Second Emperor's reign till 207 B.C.,²⁵ it is tempting to believe that the two first chapters were written or at least copied at the end of the Qin, and that the chapter order was as it is now, at least as far as the beginning chapters are concerned.

Graham combines the discovery of the *zheng* taboo with the disparate content of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, explaining that the inconsistent opinions expressed throughout the work are a result of the author's changes of mind. Chapters 1, 2, and 9 would constitute the first block of chapters, expressing a Legalist utopia. Because chapter 9 does not observe the taboo, Graham believes that chapters 1 and 2 were *written* and not just *copied* during the last years of the Qin. Why would a later person have replaced the taboo character in chapter 9 and not in chapters 1 and 2? (Graham, 1989.H:518) Temporarily leaving the evaluation of Graham's hypothesis aside,²⁶ we can now continue discussion of dating with a tentative focus on the

final death agony of the Qin dynasty as the birth years of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

Names

Names and concrete references are a double-edged sword in *Pheasant Cap Master* discussions. On the one hand, they are the most obvious and firm ground for dating the work: the mention of Ju Xin's defeat in chapter 12 indicates that the *Pheasant Cap Master*, or at least that particular part of chapter 12, cannot be much earlier than 242 B.C. If Pang zi, He guan zi's disciple mentioned in chapters 7, 8, 9, 14, and 15, can be further identified with the Pang Xuan from chapter 16 (and maybe chapter 19) who defeated Ju Xin in that battle, the ground becomes firmer, and discussions can get under way in earnest. On the other hand, because of the disputed unity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* and the very unequal distribution of names in it (see appendix 2), names have also served as a major criterion for proclaiming that those potentially informative parts of the text (chapters 12, 13, 16, and 19) are conflated material.²⁷

The lively interest among scholars in Pang zi, Pang Xuan, Pang Huan, King Wuling (r. 325-299 B.C.), King Daoxiang 魏, and Yan against Qin in 241 B.C.²⁸ Therefore, most conjecture centers around the two other Pangs, whom many scholars instinctively identify with Pang Xuan.²⁹ The result of these speculations is that Pheasant Cap Master must have lived somewhere from the mid-fourth till the mid-third century B.C., half a generation before his disciple, Pang Xuan. Considering the real possibility that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is both a conflation, with at least chapters 16 and 19 coming from the now lost *Pang Xuan* books,³⁰ and the result of multiple authorship, thus far speculations on the dates of the text merely confirm the general consensus. One can venture further on several tracks: while the core of the essay chapters could be from the Master's hand (chs. 1-6, 10-13,

17-18), the dialogue-chapters featuring Pheasant Cap Master as protagonist (chs. 7-9, 14-15) could be the work of his disciples. This would date the text from the late Zhou to, at the latest, the Former Han.³¹ The *Pang Xuan* books, then, later conflated with the *Pheasant Cap Master* (at least chapters 16 and 19), could originally have been from a dissident group of disciples under the leadership of Pang Xuan. Further reflection in this direction might offer a clue to the "military" and "Daoist" *Pheasant Cap Masters* that may have existed in the Han.³² But for a more detailed account of the dating of the *Pheasant Cap Master* this train of thought fails to provide definite answers.

There is one argument concerning the occurrence of names in the *Pheasant Cap Master* that does further set boundaries on the dates—if not of the author, then at least of the text. Wu Guang has called attention to it:

If scholars of the Western Han have one common feature, it is that, when summarizing the historical lessons of the destruction of Qin and the rise of Han, they all criticize the ruling policies of the Qin dynasty.

But, in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, he notes,

all the historical facts mentioned are pre-Qin. Not once are Qin politics openly criticized. The characters "Qin" 秦 are not even used. This is certainly no coincidence, but precisely proof that the text did not come into existence in the Han. (wu guang 1985:158)

As one can see in the third table of appendix 2, "Qin" does occur twice in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, admittedly in a list of strong states, and not as the dynasty which had united the empire. The complete absence of "Han" and any explicit criticism of the Qin dynasty is indeed striking.³³ One could add to this the harsh Legalist utopia described in chapter 9 (see pp. 44-45), which could probably not be advocated during the early Han, when milder politics were favored.³⁴ I would therefore further set the dates of the *Pheasant Cap Master* between the end of the Qin and 202 B.C.

One could respond to Wu Guang's hypothesis with the possibility of an author living in the Han but not finding fault with the

previous dynasty, and hence not criticizing it. I believe, however, that Pheasant Cap Master, or the authors subsumed under this name, did find fault with the tyranny of Qin policies. The fact that explicit criticism is nevertheless lacking, as Wu Guang has indicated, may provide further evidence for dating the text.

Implied Criticism

The presence of implied political criticism hidden within the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been raised in arguments about dating the text. The absence of any explicit criticism of the Qin dynasty may suggest that the author had good reason to refrain from it, namely that he lived and suffered under its regime.³⁵ Graham has remarked on two instances of implied criticism of the Qin through its symbol of water. The most explicit occurs in chapter 8, "Measuring the Myriad Things" (*Duo wan*): "If law is severe and punishment one-sided, spirit becomes moist. If spirit becomes moist, heaven does not generate water. If notes are [lac.]³⁶ and sounds off pitch, shape dries up. If shape dries up, earth does not generate fire." Through its harsh policies, Qin obstructs the generation of its own source of power, water. And by [lac.]-ing notes, possibly standing for the music and culture of the Zhou, it disturbs the basic harmony of the empire. The result is that, with a snowball effect, "if water and fire are not generated,... the hundred types of enterprises are all cut off and the myriad sorts of living creatures are all in trouble" (8:39/10-40/3, tr. Graham, 1989.H:507).

An even more obscure clue, suggested by Graham, is the following: "If the use of law is not correct, the dark power (*xuan de* 玄德) will not be perfected" (10:70/2, tr. Graham, 1989.H:508). Again, Pheasant Cap Master would warn against the incorrect use of law, which obstructs the "dark power," correlating with water and the Qin dynasty.

Another possible hint that the Qin is being criticized appeals to the symbol of metal. The state of Qin was situated in the West, which correlated with metal, the symbol of cutting and killing.³⁷ Pheasant Cap Master seems to have this in mind when he claims:

If one, using metal alone, doesn't connect with the other phases, one cuts off the main thread of the way, disturbs the

figures of heaven, disrupts the attunement³⁸ of the tones, and goes against the character of things. If heaven does not act as guideline, the results of it are disasters such as drought and famine. (17:112/4-5)

This possible instance of an implied criticism of the Qin dynasty is strikingly similar to the quote from chapter 8, although it uses a different correlation from the five phases.

The criterion of implied criticism would, strictly taken, date the core *Pheasant Cap Master* within the years of the draconian Qin dynasty. A notoriously mysterious text such as the *Pheasant Cap Master* may conceal many more instances of cautious criticism and subtle clues that only contemporaries would have been able to discern. The search for implied criticism is therefore both tentative and endless, especially if one has good reason to believe that this was the only way for the author to express his disagreement with concrete policies. But this criterion is above all tentative: the author's implied criticism may have been part of his meaning-laden rhetoric directed against the strong political and military tendencies of his days during, after, or even prior to the Qin dynasty.

One more instance of possible implied criticism is worth considering, because it not only attacks Qin policies in general but, more specifically, targets the First Emperor's decision in 221 B.C. to abolish posthumous titles (*shi* 皇帝), the first Emperor promulgated an edict saying:

I heard that in remote antiquity there were appellations [*hao* 號] but no posthumous titles [*shi*]. In recent antiquity, there were posthumous titles: when [a ruler] had died, he was given a posthumous title according to his conduct. In other words, sons passed judgement on their fathers and subjects on their lords. This really makes no sense! I do not accept this from them. Posthumous titles are henceforth abolished. (*Shi ji*, 6.236, tr. Chavannes, 1967:II:128)

In chapter 8, Pheasant Cap Master complains about a situation in which people may have the right attitude (*yi* 失諱) (8:41/9-10). The neglect

of official posthumous rewards in the form of titles causes, according to the author, real political confusion (see p. 187).³⁹

Doubts on the single authorship of the *Pheasant Cap Master* not only result from the facts that the text is corrupt and its author unattested in Zhou and Former Han sources, but also from the tendency to search for just one author behind a text. The investigation of biographical evidence concerning Pheasant Cap Master has drawn attention away from the putative author to the text itself. Information yielded by the text indicates that a relatively firm core of the *Pheasant Cap Master* was probably written in Chu, Zhao, or both states during the last quarter of the third century B.C., and more specifically between 209 and 202 B.C. If the chapters, contrary to Graham's rearrangement (see pp. 44-45), were written in their present order, all but the first two would date from the short period of political turmoil and philosophical revival between the Qin and Han dynasties. The first two chapters would then have been written under the Second Emperor of Qin. Hence their respect for the taboo character *zheng*, his deceased father's first name. However, the recognition of a core provides no evidence of single authorship. Rather than insisting upon or rejecting the attribution of the *Pheasant Cap Master* to one author, we need to turn to the text itself to investigate in detail where unity lies and how far it extends.

Chapter 3

Bibliographical Evidence and Expectations Concerning Unity of Length and Filiation

The practice of listing a work under one bibliographical rubric and indicating its length started with the Han dynasty as the result of an important evolution in Chinese intellectual history. Criticism of other thinkers, typical of the Warring States, gradually evolved with the unification of the empire into various forms of syncretism, which, in turn, gave rise to imperial bibliographies and new conceptions about the unity of texts.

Already in the *Xun zi* we find discussions of different thinkers who are not presented as being plainly wrong, but as being blinded by a partial truth. This evolution from disputation to syncretism continued in the Han dynasty: first in the "Below in the Empire" (*Tian xia* 家, schools or lineages of various kinds of know-how.¹

A further step toward the unification of the bibliographical corpus was taken by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 B.C.), Liu Xin (d. A.D. 23), and their collaborators. They collected books from all over the empire in a single library with a classification system that placed every work under a certain bibliographical heading. By discarding duplications, collating different redactions, correcting mistakes, arranging fragments and filling in gaps, they also remolded various texts into one recension, indicating clearly the number of "bundles" (*pian*

篇). In doing so, Han librarians responded to a newly arisen expectation for bibliographical unity—of filiation and length—and set a standard for all later bibliographies.²

The *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Han shu*) and, indirectly, the *Seven Summaries* (*Qi lüe*) are the first to provide the basic bibliographical information on the *Pheasant Cap Master*. From the Tang and Song dynasties onward, scholars have been seriously frustrated in their expectations of filiation as well as length. From these earliest recordings in Han works, the bibliographical unity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been confused. In the previous chapter we saw how this confusion was the case for the filiation of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. From its record in the *History of the Han Dynasty* up to the Qing dynasty, the *Pheasant Cap Master* was listed in the official bibliographies under the "Daoists" (*dao jia*). In the *Seven Summaries*, a *Pheasant Cap Master* was also recorded among the "Tactics and Strategy" (*quan mou*) lineage in the "militarists" (*bing jia*) section. Probably in order to avoid duplications, Ban Gu excised it (see pp. 16-17). In the *Si ku ti yao* (四庫提要) section.

The length of the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been equally problematic: described as only one *pian* ("bundle" or "chapter") in the Han dynasty, it was listed as consisting of three *juan* (子略). With few exceptions, the three *juan* remained constant. From the Tang dynasty onward, the work has also been recorded in either fifteen, sixteen, nineteen, or thirty-six *plan*.³ Appendix 3 indicates the length and filiation of the *Pheasant Cap Master* in catalogues and bibliographical notices from the Han through the Yuan dynasties, in imperial as well as private collections.

The remarkable growth in its length and discrepancies in its divisions, on the one hand, and the absence of a consistent philosophical filiation, on the other, have encouraged the rejection of the *Pheasant Cap Master* from the Ming dynasty onward. Where the result has not been total neglect, discussions have led to the hypothesis that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is a conflation of texts, thus providing the work with an alternative type of unity. The possibility that two originally separate and distinct texts were conflated under one title would explain not only the remarkable

growth of the *Pheasant Cap Master* but also its unclear and changing filiation.

3.1. The Length of the Pheasant Cap Master

Suspicion concerning the authorship of the *Pheasant Cap Master* was expressed since the Tang dynasty because of its "shallow and base" style. This was the impulse for Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 to speculate that "an amateur forged this book" (see pp. 55-56). Beginning with the Ming dynasty, scholars seem to have been disturbed more by the apparent growth of the book and the striking discrepancy between *pian* and *juan*: a new expectation of unity had taken hold in *He guan zi* discussions.

Song scholars such as Chen Zhensun 晁公武 (fl. 1140-70) noticed the discrepancy but did not dwell upon it.⁴ Hu Yinglin (1551-1602) is the first to explicitly acknowledge the problem and to use it as a confirmation of the traditional condemnation of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as an apocryphal work:

The *Pheasant Cap Master* mentioned under the Daoists [in the *History of the Han Dynasty*] is only 1 *pian*, but what Han Yu from the Tang read had 19 *pian*. The *Si ku shu mu* from the Song had 36 *pian*. Mr. Chao's *Memoirs of My Readings*, then, names 8 *juan*, all differing from the *Bibliographical Treatise of the History of the Han Dynasty*. (*Si bu zheng e*, 23)

Combined with its double filiation in the *History of the Han Dynasty*, this development proved to Hu Yinglin that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is one of those titles to which later people have spuriously added other writings in order to pass them off as an ancient text. Although Hu's accusation is rather exaggerated—Chao Gongwu, we will see, does not attribute all eight *juan* to the *Pheasant Cap Master*—it has been very influential. The famous critic Yao Jiheng 姚際恒 (1647-1715) repeats the argument and considers it sufficient to condemn the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a forgery (*Gu jin wei shu kao*, 16).

The tide begins to turn when the editors of the *Si ku quan shu* 四庫全書 at the end of the eighteenth century noticed that the

change from one *pian* in the *History of the Han Dynasty* to three *juan* in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui shu* 隋書) onward merely indicates the possibility of later additions, but is not real proof (*Si ku ti yao*, 2455). Critical of traditional Chinese scholarship and its criteria for considering an ancient text authentic or forged, Bernhard Karlgren takes up the defense of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. "Of the 19 *p'ien*," he argues, "some are very short, and the whole of the present work has about the same length as one of the larger sections (*p'ien*) in the *Shi ki* (e.g. *p'ien* 39); hence the '1 *p'ien*' of the *Han shu* bibliography" (Karlgren, 1929:169). According to him, no growth in length has taken place, but only a change in divisions: one long *pian* in the Han may have been divided later on into nineteen *pian*. According to Karlgren's hypothesis, the unity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been restored at the expense of the "unit" of a *pian*. In previous arguments it was always assumed, but never explicitly stated, that a *pian* had a relatively consistent meaning throughout history.

This assumption becomes explicit in Henri Maspero's criticism of Karlgren's defense. He points out that Karlgren's suggestion would be possible if a *pian* were merely a physical division, to be arranged differently according to the material on which the text had to be recorded. But each *pian*, translated by him as "section," is "a real division of the text corresponding with a real division of the treated subjects, each having its title." Therefore, "when we see an increase of sections, this generally also indicates an increase of content, through the addition of new sections." In defending the "unity" of a *pian* at the expense of the unity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, Maspero again condemns the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a late forgery (Maspero, 1933:41-2).

The discussion concerning the changing length of the *Pheasant Cap Master* has thus come to focus on the definition of a *pian*. The term was initially used in its most literal sense, as a physical description of a manuscript, a "bundle." Only later, as a result of changes in materials and printing techniques, did the term lose its physical significance and came to refer to a textual unit in Maspero's sense. Since the same term may have referred to a physical division in the Han dynasty and to a textual division later, the increase of one to nineteen *pian*^{material/textual}, however remarkable, does not alone suffice to question the unity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.⁵ According

to Graham, most of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, written on one bundle (*pian*^{material}) in the Han dynasty, was probably divided into *pian*^{textual} by an editor who created titles as summaries of the content by selecting two words from within the chapter. Exceptions to this rule are, for Graham, an indication of conflated material (Graham, 1989.H:499-501). The editing of the *He guan zi* must have happened before A.D. 631, when the *Qun shu zhi yao* 敦煌 manuscript (see pp. 97-99), if authentic, provides evidence that, prior to that date, the whole work was also copied on two scrolls (*juan*^{material}) in A.D. 629. Judging from the published commentary on the first scroll, the whole text had its present length and order of chapters, but without the present chapter divisions or titles (*pian*^{textual}). This would suggest that the one *pian* of the *Han shu* was a material division, later copied in several material *juan*. One redaction of the text was divided into textual *pian* or "chapters" sometime before A.D. 631 and survived variously in fifteen, sixteen, or nineteen *pian*.

The most often repeated discrepancy in these numbers of *pian*^{textual} is between Han Yu 陸佃's editions in, respectively, sixteen and nineteen *pian*.⁶ This discrepancy can also be explained without resorting to the hypothesis of growth in length. The Qu edition of *Memoirs of My Readings in the Jun Studio* (*Jun zhai du shu zhi* 墨子 (in three *juan* and thirteen *pian*) and later writings (in two *juan* and nineteen *pian*): hence the eight *juan* (*Jun zhai du shu zhi*, 11.12a). Bruce Williams suggests that Han Yu could have owned this large edition and that he, assuming that the work ended with the last mention of Pheasant Cap Master and of Pang Xuan in chapters 15 and 16, respectively, considered the three last chapters (chapters 17, 18, and 19) as not belonging to the *He guan zi*, but to later writings (Williams, 1987:88-89). The unity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* would then not necessarily have grown over time but would have differed according to where one took the manuscript to end.⁷

Since we have as yet no way to determine definitely how the meanings of *pian* and *juan* evolved over time, and whether one *pian* in the Han may have contained the nineteen "chapters" of the received version, the conclusion that the *Pheasant Cap Master* has grown substantially in length is unjustified but remains a possibility. Even if the text grew in length, one wonders how exceptional this would make the *Pheasant Cap Master*: for many works up to the Han dynasty (and for some even much later) gradual growth seems to have occurred. A text would grow because the author took a long time to write it, because his disciples or later thinkers felt inspired to add to it, because editors would rearrange it or conflate it with other writings of the same lineage, or because a later commentator felt the urge to change it—all different types of multiple authorship.⁸

3.2. The Filiation of the Pheasant Cap Master

The second type of concern fostered by changeable bibliographical evidence concerns the filiation of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. This concern is closely related to its disparate content, because attempts to explain the content of a classical text usually make reference to bibliographical rubrics or philosophical labels, such as "Daoist" (*dao jia*), "Tactics and Strategy" (*quan mou*), "Yellow (Emperor) and Lao (zi)" (*Huang lao*), "Shape and Name" (*xing ming* 形名), and "Eclectics" (*za jia*), all labels that have at one time or another been attributed to the *Pheasant Cap Master*.⁹

The *Pheasant Cap Master* seems to have started its bibliographical career in confusion, as it was listed in the *Seven Summaries* under a "Daoist" as well as a "Tactics and Strategy" military section. In addition to its growth in length, this was the second reason for Hu Yinglin to declare the *Pheasant Cap Master* a forgery and, more specifically, a conflation of texts. If the two works were duplicates, as Ban Gu probably believed when he excised the second, the confusion may have been caused by the fact that the different bibliographic summaries were compiled by different people.

While Liu Xiang was in charge of the "Masters," one of his collaborators at the imperial library, Ren Hong 任宏, collated the "military" section (*Han shu*, 30.1701). Whether the two texts really

were duplicates is impossible to ascertain now. But it is a fact that five out of the nineteen chapters of the extant *Pheasant Cap Master* are predominantly military treatises (chapters 7, 12, 14, 17, and 19), not to mention occasional remarks concerning warfare in the other chapters. All of the predominantly military chapters are suspected of being Pang Xuan material in at least one version of the conflation hypothesis. After being listed in the bibliographic chapter of the *History of the Han Dynasty* with two chapters under "Diplomats" (*zong heng* 縱橫) and three under "Tactics and Strategy" no trace is left of these texts in the later bibliographies (*Han shu*, 30.1739, 1757).¹⁰ The possibility that such conflation may have taken place reinforces the military associations of the extant *Pheasant Cap Master*.

But long before Hu Yinglin's speculations concerning this bibliographical curiosity, other worries had been expressed about the content of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, not by its critics, but by enthusiastic commentators on the work. Han Yu (768-824), the great Tang scholar and one of the *Pheasant Cap Master*'s first admirers, describes its content as a "mixture of 'Yellow Emperor and Laozi' (*Huang lao*) and 'Shape and Name' (*xing ming*)" (*Han Changli ji*, 11.1561). Lu Dian (1042-1102), the Song commentator whose text and commentary are preserved in all extant complete *Pheasant Cap Master* editions, continues along the same line in his *Foreword to the Pheasant Cap Master* (*He guan zi xu* 序): "His way is eclectic. The text he wrote is first rooted in *Huang lao* and, further, flows over into 'Shape and Name.'" He remains hesitant about the overall unity of its content: "This work, even though it mixes up *Huang lao* and 'Shape and Name,' is in need of a place to stay. Often, it seems like one who, scattered and confused, has no home. Therefore, its strange expressions and mysterious meanings are indeed numerous" (*He guan zi xu*, 1-2).

While "Shape and Name" was a theory of political administration in which performances are checked by comparing them with the job description (see pp. 174-177), *Huang lao* is a more debated category. Nevertheless, many scholars have followed Han Yu and Lu Dian in characterizing the *Pedant Cap Master* as a *Huang lao* work.¹¹

With *lao* standing for Lao zi, the alleged founder of the Daoist lineage, and *Huang* for the "Yellow Emperor" (Huang Di 黃帝), symbol of warfare, centralized bureaucracy, and rulership, the corn-

bination refers roughly to a political Daoism fashionable during the third and second centuries B.C.¹² Considering this combination, the passage from *Huang lao* to "Shape and Name" in the *Pheasant Cap Master* is not too abrupt. The veneration of Huang Di as a mythical emperor, predating traditional legendary figures such as Yao 堯 Academy and the strong presence of *Huang lao* thought therein. As an ideology that synthesized the best of each school, supported righteous wars, and strove for the unification of the empire, *Huang lao* would have served these new rulers from Qi well.¹³

This brief outline of what *Huang lao* may have been in its early days not only somewhat reconciles the two labels given it by Han Yu and Lu Dian, but also connects it with the most popular classification of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as "Daoist" (*dao jia*). Relying on the implicit identification in the *Record of the Grand Historian* (*Shi ji*) of *Huang lao* with *dao jia*,¹⁴ and on Sima Tan 道德家 referred to *Huang lao* rather than to a Lao-Zhuang type of mystical Daoism, prevalent in the Wei (220-265) and Jin (266-420) dynasties.¹⁵ Sima Tan describes his favorite lineage:

The Daoist lineage enables a person's quintessential spirit (*jing shen* 順) of the *yin yang* lineage, chooses the best of the Confucians and Mohists,

and adopts the crucial (*yao* 宜) Its point is condensed but easy to hold on to. For little work there is much effect. (*Shi ji*, 130.3289, tr. Roth, 1991:86)

Further on, Sima Tan continues:

The Daoist takes no action (*wu wei* 無為) as practice Without acting before or after the others, he is able to act as the ruler of the myriad things. (*Shi ji*, 130.3292, tr. Roth, 1991:87)

The occurrence in a text of such ideas and terms as the quintessential, spiritual or divine, unified, formless, timely, responsive, tenuous, non-active, adapting, compliant, and so forth, has been taken as an indication of *Huang lao* thought.

The following lines of Sima Tan's description of Daoism turn more explicitly to politics and remind one of "Shape and Name" practices:

When the congregation of ministers arrive side by side, he makes each of them illumine himself: if their realizations match with what they have voiced, he calls them upright; if not, he calls them hollow. As he does not listen to hollow words, falseness does not arise. As the worthy and inadequate [thanks to this political mechanism] are distinguished of themselves, white and black take shape. If in what he wants, he uses his acuity, which affair would not be completed? (*Shiji*, 130.3292)

Thus far, the labels of *Huang lao*, *xing ming*, and *dao jia* do not really represent a contradiction. However one wants to label the *Pheasant Cap Master*, Sima Tan's characterization of the Daoist lineage fits remarkably well with its content.

The last label attributed to the *Pheasant Cap Master* was "Eclectic" (*za jia*). Given Sima Tan's description of *dao jia* as the lineage that selects the best ideas from the others, eclecticism seems

to be at the very core of Han Daoism, too. ¹⁶ As to the question of why it was specifically in the Qing that this realignment was made, Neugebauer suggests that it may be related to the conflation hypothesis gaining influence at this time, so that the *Pheasant Cap Master* was considered to be literally a mixture of several texts (Neugebauer, 1986:12).

Scholars have been disturbed not only by the changing categories under which the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been listed but also by the vagueness and mutual overlap among these categories. Too often, traditional terms such as "Daoism" or "Legalism" serve as easy but vague classifications, allowing one to leave off thinking about the meaning of a passage or a text by simply relegating it to one of the well-known schools.

One possible remedy to this vagueness is to demand from scholars strict criteria for attributing a text to a certain school. As a reaction against "the willingness on the part of contemporary scholars to appeal to [*Huang lao*] without first clearly delineating its conceptual content," Randall Peerenboom believes that:

what is needed is a careful discussion of the differences between the various pre- and early Han philosophical systems. ... Paying close attention to how the *Boshu* [the four *Silk Manuscripts*] differs from other works allows one to appreciate the novelty of Huang-Lao thought. It then becomes possible to stipulate what one means by *Huang-Lao* and to provide criteria for distinguishing *Huang-Lao* from other schools, thus clarifying rather than obfuscating the relations among ancient Chinese philosophers and schools. (Peerenboom, 1993:3-4)

The question is, however, whether such a demand for clear demarcations does not result in serious simplifications, attaching too high expectations with respect to the unity of schools, texts, and labels such as "*Huang lao*" and "the *Bo shu*." A more cautious variant of this approach, suggested by Nathan Sivin (1978:328), is to specify what one means by terms such as "Daoism," without thereby claiming to hit the sole essence underlying that particular term.

An alternative resolution of this problem is to avoid vague and often used labels as much as possible and thus also avoid the expectation of unity which, by their very nature, these categories

seem to demand. Clear distinctions between so-called schools are precluded, not only because of the frequent overlap among terms such as *dao jia*, *Huang lao*, *xing ming*, and *za jia* but also because of intellectual fluidity within the categories themselves. This approach has its limitations too: one cannot possibly avoid every term that changes and overlaps semantically, because all the most interesting terms do, but one can use them carefully. A bibliographical or philosophical label may be useful and informative as long as it is not loaded with overly high expectations concerning the unity of the content that it represents. When considered from this point of view, the unstable career of the *Pheasant Cap Master* throughout the bibliographical notices becomes less problematic.

3.3. The Conflation Hypothesis

The most established hypothesis explaining the lack of bibliographical unity—of the length as well as the filiation—is that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is a conflation of texts. The obvious candidate for being conflated with the *Pheasant Cap Master* is the *Pang Xuan*, named after the general from Zhao who served under King Daoxiang, defeated Yan in 242 B.C. and led the campaign against Qin in 241 B.C. (see p. 26). After being listed in the *Bibliographical Treatise of the History of the Han Dynasty* (*Han shu*, 30) with two chapters under "Diplomats" and three under "Tactics and Strategy," no trace of *Pang Xuan* is left in the later bibliographies. In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, however, Pang Xuan appears in chapter 16 in dialogue with King Daoxiang of Zhao (r. 244-236 B.C.), a certain Pang X^huan in chapter 19 in dialogue with King Wuling (r. 325-299 B.C.) of Zhao, and a Pang zi as a disciple of Pheasant Cap Master, in the remaining dialogue chapters: chapters 7, 8, 9, 14, and 15. Combined with these appearances in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the disappearance of the *Pang Xuan* has caused scholars from the Ming dynasty onward to entertain the idea of a possible conflation of the two texts.

The first person to suggest the idea of conflation was Hu Yinglin:

The "military section" of the *Bibliographical Treatise of the History of the Han Dynasty* has *Pang Xuan* in three *pian*.

Military Policy [ch. 14] quotes Pang Xuan's questions [to Pheasant Cap Master], while *Worthies of the Age* [ch. 16] and *King Wuling* [ch. 19] directly quote Xuan's words [as a Master]. How could it not be the case that Xuan studied with Pheasant Cap Master, that these two *pian* were from this *Xuan* text, and that later people, because of the dialogues between Pheasant Cap Master and Xuan, added them to it? (*Si bu zheng e*, 25)

At this stage the argument is still weak: Hu Yinglin identifies, without basis, Pang zi with Pang Xuan (and perhaps Pang Huan) and does not give any further explanation about which of the two or three *Pang Xuan pian* ended up in the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

The conflation hypothesis has received much attention in this century. Gustav Haloun was the first Western scholar to claim that the *Pheasant Cap Master* "contained alien matter from the beginning. An 'Art of War' by P'an Sūan merged with the original Xokuan tsī very early" (Haloun, 1951:88 n. 2). According to Wang Kaiyun (1910:8b), and followed by Qian Mu (1986:484), all chapters mentioning Pang (chs. 7-9, 14-16, and 19) come from the *Pang Xuan*. He thereby intends to combine the one *plan* of the *Pheasant Cap Master* with the two "Diplomatic" *pian* of *Pang Xuan* into the three *juan* of the *Pheasant Cap Master* mentioned in the *History of the Sui Dynasty*. Neugebauer, whose research focuses on the conflation hypothesis, argues against Wang that it is precisely because of the presence of Pang zi in the core dialogues that the *Pang Xuan* was added to the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Setting out from the questions of whether parts from the *Pang Xuan* have ended up in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, and if so, which parts and from which *Pang Xuan* texts, Neugebauer divides the work into a firm *He guan zi* core from chapters 1 up to 13, knitted together with internal linking phrases centering around the Pang zi dialogues, and a periphery of conflated material: chapters 14, 19, and possibly 15, from the "military" *Pang Xuan*; chapter 16 and possibly 15, from the "Diplomatic" *Pang Xuan*; and chapters 17 and 18, which are neither *Pheasant Cap Master* nor *Pang Xuan* material (Neugebauer, 1986:23-37).¹⁷

A constant feature in all present hypotheses is concern about the two dialogues that do not portray Pheasant Cap Master: chapters 16 and 19. Wu Guang adds to them the first part of chapter 12 in order to compose the three lost "military" *Pang Xuan pian* (Wu

Guang, 1985:155). In response to Neugebauer and Wu Guang, Graham lists several more internal linking phrases that closely connect all chapters, except for chapters 16 and 19 (Graham, 1989.H:503). But, interestingly, he does not use any chapter after chapter 14 in his tripartite reconstruction of Pheasant Cap Master's life.¹⁸

With the growth in length of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the facts that Pang Xuan and Pang X^Huan occupy the teacher's position in their respective dialogical chapters, and Pheasant Cap Master's own absence from these two chapters, this hypothesis has some plausibility. But considering the variety of competing suggestions with respect to the foreign materials, the conflation hypothesis cannot be considered the final word on the *Pheasant Cap Master's* authenticity. While refraining from joining the discussion, I will nevertheless respect the concern about chapters 16 and 19 in the sense that I will remind the reader of their dubious status whenever I use these chapters to make a point about the content of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

However plausible and interesting the conflation hypothesis may be, it is perhaps not worth the importance often invested in it. Conflation is only one more version of multiple authorship. The possible conflation with the *Pang Xuan* texts has no dramatic impact on either the value or the dates of the *Pheasant Cap Master* (see p. 30). The doubts that have been raised because of the bibliographical evidence of the *Pheasant Cap Master* are to some extent the result of inappropriate expectations concerning the unity of the length and the filiation of texts.

3.4. Further Discussion Concerning Filiation

A. C. Graham's alternative approach to disciplining the vagueness of traditional filiation labels other than stipulating strict criteria, defining their sense in a specific context, or diminishing one's appeal to them, is to invent new labels in order to make more subtle distinctions than those provided by tradition. Labeling the whole *Pheasant Cap Master*, except for chapters 16 and 19, as "early syncretism," he distinguishes it from two later types of syncretism; and paying close attention to the chapters separately, he occasion-

ally describes the author as a "semi-Legalist," a "Yangist," or a "Primitivist."

While critical of the traditional expectations concerning singleness of authorship, length, and filiation, Graham nevertheless attributes a relatively high degree of unity to the *Pheasant Cap Master*: "We have, at least for the present, as much reason to assume unity of authorship (except for chapters 16 and 19) as with any other ancient Chinese text." Troubled by the question of "why a book most of which seems to be a unity should offer us three different Utopias," he sets himself the task of explaining this "most striking incongruity in the book." Graham rationalizes inconsistencies in the content of the *Pheasant Cap Master* by putting forth the hypothesis that the author underwent a psychological evolution, not inconceivable in times when "a thinker with a taste for programming the ideal government would have every excuse for changes of mind" (Graham, 1989.H:503, 529, 517). He guan zi's changing views on politics are concentrated in three succeeding blocks—A, B, and C—in which most, but not all, chapters are grouped.

Its author was writing during an extraordinary period of accelerating change, from the last years of Ch'u through the Ch'in and into the interregnum. He changed his mind in response to two crises, the discrediting of Legalism by the tyranny of Ch'in, and the temporary collapse of faith in organized government during the interregnum. He was an inveterate designer of ideal republics; after the first crisis he invented a new one, after the second, he simply gave up, and joined the Taoists and Yangists in looking back with nostalgia to the primordial age when there was no government at all (Graham, 1989.H:529).

In summary: block A professes a Legalism or semi-Legalism as was popular at the court of ambitious rulers before and during the Qin dynasty, and consists of chapters 9, 1, and 2, in that order.¹⁹ Block B proposes a more humane Utopia, a mixture of soft Legalism and tough Daoism, which many scholars, but not Graham, would label as *Huang lao*. It consists of chapters 8, 10, 11, and 4, again in that order. Finally, block C advances a Primitivism, evidencing a pessimism with respect to all government that is particular to the political hiatus between the Qin and Han dynasties. These are

chapters 12 and 13, possibly introduced by chapter 3.²⁰ As one would expect with a psychological evolution, there are links between the different stages, for instance, between the semi-Legalist and the more humane Utopia: "Even in Block A there is already an ingredient foreign to Legalism; the social order is conceived as bound together by morality as well as imposed by force" (Graham, 1989.H:521).

One disadvantage of Graham's hypothesis is that it leaves us with seven out of the seventeen chapters unexplained: chapters 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 17, and 18 (excluding chapters 16 and 19 as conflated material). But the hypothesis has other weaknesses, which I will try to indicate by focusing on block A, and especially on its first chapter, namely chapter 9. Beyond Graham's own hypothesis, there is no other evidence for rearranging the present order of chapters as it was already attested in the Sui dynasty or, at least, by the Tang.²¹

Graham's hypothesis concerning block A can be analyzed around three claims concerning unity: he relies upon the unity of chapter 9 to ascribe unity to block A in order to explain the overall theoretical *disunity* of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Before suggesting an alternative to Graham's hypothesis, I will evaluate his view of block A in terms of these three claims.

Graham's Block-Hypothesis

Despite the remarkable unity that Graham discerns in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, he is struck by its incongruity in the proposal of three contrasting ideals of government. Persuaded that chapter 9, "Kingly Blade" (*Wang fu*), presents "unquestionably an integral whole," because it is a dialogical chapter, Graham does not look for any type of inconsistency within the chapter itself (Graham, 1989.H:499, 518). It is indeed undeniable that this chapter, from beginning to end, records a dialogue between Pang zi and He guan zi and, in this sense, constitutes a unity. But the unity of a chapter as well as a text is always a matter of degree. The fact that chapter 9 contains material from the *Guan zi*, 20 (*Xiao kuang* 小匡) or *Guo yu*, 6 (*Discourses of the State of Qi*), possibly borrowed by the author to illustrate his political ideal, would not necessarily be a refutation of its unity. But what if the passages were added by disciples, co-

authors, commentators, or a later forger? Wouldn't these scenarios all detract from the degree of unity?

The putative disunity of the whole text is explained by appeal to a remarkable unity within the three separate blocks, which are then connected by links, thus making plausible the hypothesis of the psychological evolution of one author. Graham presents and defends his solution primarily with arguments about terminology and doctrine. To sustain his position, the claim must be not only that the three chapters of block A fit well together, but that they do so to an exceptionally high degree when compared with the rest of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

As for his terminological arguments, Graham uses the fact that a certain expression occurs in one chapter without explanation, while it is fully explained in another, as good, although not infallible, evidence that the second chapter precedes the first. In block A, the expression "kingly blade" (*wang fu*) is explained in 9:60/1 and merely appears in 1:1/4 and 1:3/8; the "four tests" (*si ji* 四稽) are introduced in 1:1/5 and appear in 2:3/1 as "tests" (*ji*) only. This presents us with a chronological order of chapters 9, 1, 2—confirmed by the observance of the *zheng* taboo in chapters 1 and 2. As chapter 9 does not observe the taboo, Graham concludes that it must be situated chronologically prior to the Qin dynasty (see p. 25) (Graham, 1989.H:518).

When examined closely, the argument thus far appears rather thin. I believe there is strong evidence that the term "kingly blade," Graham's sole terminological proof for the exceptional relation between chapter 9 and chapter 1, did not originally occur in 1:1/4, where indeed it is not explained.²² In its second occurrence in chapter 1, however, it is explained: "Reward by calculating achievements, pronounce by weighing power. If the kingly blade lies herein, who would be able to cause confusion?" (1:3/8).²³

The link between chapter 9 and chapter 2 is even weaker: chapter 2 is only indirectly related to chapter 9 through its link with chapter 1 in the observance of a taboo (which is not observed in chapter 9) and secondly, in the "repetition" of *si ji* as *ji* only, a term which occurs frequently in five other chapters of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.²⁴

As far as terminology is concerned, there is little to sustain the claim that chapter 9 has a special relationship with the two other

chapters of block A. There definitely are terminological and linguistic links between the three chapters, but nothing exceptional. Besides, there are many other notable terms contained in chapter 9 that are remarkably absent from chapters 1 and 2: the nontaboo character *zheng*, the mythical hero Cheng Jiu 成鳩, and He guan zi's questioner Pang zi, to mention only the most striking instances.

As for the doctrinal arguments, Graham attributes to the young, enthusiastic, Pre-Qin author a quality of self-confidence and Legalist ideology. He sees him as becoming more cautious in his attitudes under the tyrannical Qin dynasty. This ideology is promoted as the system of Cheng Jiu, reigning for 18,000 years, strong in war, bureaucratic, practical and efficient, punishing and rewarding, professing the idea of giving and taking life as the means to impose order, and promoting an active view of the sage (Graham, 1989.H:518-20).

Chapter 2 lies completely outside of this characterization. It is, on the contrary, an explicit complaint against such harsh politics and "a lament for the fate of the moral man in immoral times" (Graham, 1989.H:521): "How bitter to be a man of worth hiding from an unruly age!" (2:5/7, tr. Graham, 1989.H:521). Chapter 1 does indeed contain a Legalist echo: "Without death no life, without cutting no success" (1:3/7, tr. Graham, 1989.H:520). But this line is problematic, belonging to a series of "loose" sayings making up the last part of the chapter (1:3/1-3/8). Aside from this line, chapter 1 mainly consists of the search for the morally best people, a concern which is, Graham admits, "more like the Mohist and afterwards Confucian policy of promoting the morally best than the Legalist of picking the fittest for the job irrespective of his total character" (Graham, 1989.H:521). As for the three lines used by Graham to support his Legalist reading of chapter 9, one of them—or, at least, part of it—does suggest a tyrannical posture:

Therefore, *his armies are able to proceed everywhere on punitive expeditions, and no one dares to oppose him*. Hence, his punishments although installed are not used, without fighting he is in power, and without the arrangement of chariots and shields he has no rival anymore in the empire. (9:58/1-2, tr. Graham, 1989.H:519, my italics)

The whole passage occurs in a section of the chapter which is heavily loaded with parallels with the *Guan zi* and *Guo yu*. But only the most aggressive line, indicated by the italics, is a parallel with these works. The lines following it, far from professing a harsh Legalism, are consistent with the rest of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, where arms and punishments are treated positively as instruments that enable the ruler to avoid bloodshed.²⁵

Another line quoted by Graham (9:63/8-64/2) has a parallel in the *Jing fa* 經法, 1:2b, and a third line (9:62/6) happens to be a linking phrase with 10:72/9, belonging in Graham's reconstruction to the more humane block B: "It is simply that what is from the past, we ourselves cause it to continue, what is multiple we ourselves cause it be multiple" (9:62/6, tr. Graham, 1989.H:519). Only when read in light of the aggressive line, which is a parallel with the *Discourses of States* and *Master Guan*, can the other lines quoted by Graham be interpreted in a Legalist manner.

To summarize, chapter 2 is not Legalist at all. Graham admits this, but probably considers it to be a step in the direction of block B. Nor is chapter I Legalist. Because of only one questionable line at the very end of this chapter, Graham labels the whole chapter "Legalist." And finally, in chapter 9 too, Graham finds that "the social order is conceived as bound together by morality as well as imposed by force," which he considers as "*already an* ingredient foreign to Legalism": a step in the direction of the more humane block B (Graham, 1989.H:521, my italics). Even in chapter 9, not much is particularly Legalistic, except what I consider to be a later interpolation from a foreign source.

An Alternative to Graham's Hypothesis

Graham's conviction that chapter 9 forms a block with chapters 1 and 2 and contradicts the rest of the work is advanced on the basis of an exaggerated estimation of the unity of the three separate chapters, mainly chapter 9, leading him to read the whole chapter and the entire block A in light of the parallel passages, while rejecting all counterindications as "foreign ingredients." The alternative hypothesis, focusing on chapter 9, is that it might not be an integral whole, containing more foreign material than would be expected

from a well-digested case of first-person borrowing. The disunity that Graham perceives in the whole book can to some extent be explained by such disunity (or, alternatively, weak kinds of unity) within chapters such as chapter 9.

The passages that are parallel to the *Guo yu* and *Guan zi* (further *G/G*) are dispersed in the middle section of chapter 9 of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. The discussion is complicated by the fact that precisely this section, perhaps not coincidentally, is very corrupt.²⁶ But the differences between *G/G* and the rest of the chapter (further *H*) are striking enough. To begin with, part *G/G* contains no parallels with works that have parallels with other parts of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, nor does it have linking phrases with the rest of the *Pheasant Cap Master*—not even within chapter 9 itself, namely section *H*.²⁷ There is, moreover, an interesting case of a term in *G/G* that is consistently used in a different way from the rest of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, including the rest of chapter 9. In the whole text, except for *G/G, jia* 家 (family/clan) is used in a conventional meaning, as in: "Hence, he is able to embrace the four seas and form one family" (9:61/4-5, tr. Neugebauer, 1988:207). Only in the *G/G* passage does the term function in a more technical sense, as an impersonal and countable social unit, a substitutable atom of society. The "five *jia*" are defined as forming a squad, of which ten form a village, and so on. Inspection, running down the social pyramid, ends up at the basic level of the family, where social control begins (9:52/3-57/4).

This passage is a good example of the content and style of *G/G*, which is practical, impersonal, and harsh, without mentioning either "the One" or Cheng Jiu. The writer is preoccupied with strict administrative divisions within the population, with corresponding responsibilities, shared punishments, social control, accurate timing, and centralization of power at the court. The practicability and efficiency of the system as presented is exceptional for the *Pheasant Cap Master*. The style of the passage is one of sober exposition, clear and tightly structured. Much of this clarity is, however, lost with the corruption of the text.

While part *G/G* of chapter 9 does not fit well in the chapter or in the work as a whole, part *H* gives a totally different impression and fits in in as many ways as the *G/G* section is distinctive. It may be fairly characterized as what Graham perceives as the ingredient

foreign to Legalism in block A. It belongs to a milder and more paternalistic vision of government, with love as the bond that knits society, with heaven as the political model par excellence, and with the sage as the savior of the age. It expresses the political ideal of barbarians and Chinese forming one "family" cherished by a ruler who protects them from harm. This ideal is projected onto the mythical hero, Cheng Jiu, whose model was the Unadorned Majestic Inner Emperor (*Su Huang Nei Di* 天, which is used as a literary device, prompting Pang zi to ask for an explanation (9:49/3).²⁸ At Pang zi's request, the Master describes the ideal ruler with a bounty as reliable as the sun, punishments as trustworthy as the moon, tests as illuminating as stars, norms as adaptive as seasons, and an equality which, like heaven's standard, is "one" (9:49/2-10). Because Cheng Jiu took nature as his highest model:

The living things went without harm: he was father
and mother for them, and no one was trampled down.
He was humane in taking and giving,
perfect in educating and guiding,
crucial in statements and speech,
trustworthy in contracts and covenants...,
and his arms weren't martial (*wu* 武).
What he "implanted" became custom: his
transformation started from here. (9:51/4-7, tr.
Neugebauer, 1986:144-45)

This ruler, described in astrological, political, familial, emotional, and even Confucian terms, is far from the Legalist ideal that Graham attributes to chapter 9.

H is, furthermore, woven into the whole text through a tight network of linking phrases, specifically with chapters 4, 7, and 10 more than with chapters 1 and 2. The above description of the ruler in heavenly terms also occurs in chapter 10; the verbal use of "heaven," in chapter 4; the claim that "the multiple, we ourselves

cause it to be so," in chapter 10; the ruler's task to "implant customs and set up transformation," in chapter 7; and the complaint about ministers who disturb the flow of information and bounty between the ruler and his people by "opposing superiors and screening off inferiors," in chapters 4 and 7. The description of the emperor in the center, grasping the One, "attuning himself with the five tones, correcting himself with the six pitch-pipes, recording with measures and numbers, and presiding by applying punishments and bounty," is almost literally repeated in chapter 10. Adding shorter and less exclusive expressions, the result is a tighter texture for at least these chapters of the *Pheasant Cap Master* than for block A.²⁹ A final confirmation is provided by close parallels that H shares with other texts, such as the four *Silk Manuscripts*, the *Huai nan zi* 吕氏春秋), the *Zhuang zi*, and the *Lao zi*, none of which promotes a particularly harsh Legalism.³⁰

There may be some disagreement about the details of this alternative hypothesis, but I think it is clear that Graham has at least overstated the unity of chapter 9. Rather than the links between chapter 9 and the other chapters (part *H*), the "foreign ingredients" in chapter 9 are those portions of the text (namely *G/G*) that have no links with the rest of the work. There may still be contradictions and mysteries within the *Pheasant Cap Master*, and the author may have changed his mind in the course of a long and turbulent life, but when these parallel passages are removed, there is no substantial difference between chapter 9 and the rest of the work, no major incongruity to explain.

To conclude, the passages that parallel the *Guo yu* and the *Guan zi* do not fit well into chapter 9, while chapter 9 without these passages fits into the whole of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as well as most other chapters do. My claim that the major disunity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* lies within some chapters rather than among some chapter-blocks, as Graham has suggested, may reopen discussion concerning the authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. It remains important to discern in precisely what way the long parallel passage is foreign to the text: Has it been quoted or used by the author, is it a commentarial intrusion, or was it interpolated into the text by a later forger? To me, the differences in tone, terminology, and content are too blatant to be explained as an innocent case

of badly digested borrowing by the original author. With a chapter such as 9, perhaps more corrupt and suspect than Graham's and my own arguments have made it appear, an alternative scenario is difficult to envision. But the facts point toward the traditional criticism: something—possibly an innocent commentary, but more likely a conscious "embellishment"—seems to have worked its way into the original text³¹

The discussion of He guan zi's bibliographical evidence reported from the Han dynasty onward carried with it new expectations of unity with respect to length and filiation. The disappointment of both expectations from the Ming dynasty onward has long strengthened the traditional rejection of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a spurious text. The conflation hypothesis and Graham's block hypothesis discussed above indicate a shift of attention in recent scholarship from the text as a whole to its chapters. This attitude allows for a more detailed and balanced evaluation of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. In my discussion of Graham's block hypothesis, I have drawn attention from the chapters as units to separate passages within them, thus initiating a further fragmentation in the investigation.³²

Chapter 4

Commentarial Evidence and Expectations Concerning Stylistic Unity

Comments written on the *Pheasant Cap Master*, emancipated from biographical and bibliographical notices, emerged in the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-906). From the third century A.D., the criterion for criticizing a text was no longer its content alone, but also its literary style independently. Cao Pi 文心雕龍, in fifty chapters, discusses the dominant literary genres and the major aspects of literature, such as form, style, material, and rhetorical structure (see Fisk, 1986:49-52).

With this evolution, a new expectation of unity was being created: the unity of style, closely related to the unity of authorship. Liu Xie was the first to evaluate the *Pheasant Cap Master* on this criterion and to admire the treatise for its "deep utterances" presented in a "continuous and unbroken" style (*Wen xin diao long*, 17.6b, tr. Shih, 1959:99). Little did he know that, by these very words, he opened up the scholarly field for a new type of criticism and for tenacious attacks, beginning in the Tang dynasty, on the "base and shallow (*bi qian* 鄙淺)" style of the book. Liu Zongyuan's

claim about the baseness of the *Pheasant Cap Master* was supported by the accusation of borrowing. Since then, criticism of stylistic inconsistency in the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been closely related to charges of plagiarism.

As an expectation, unity of style arose relatively late (Chinese Middle Ages) compared to unity of authorship (Zhou), the length of the text, and its filiation (Han). The stylistic critics were, nevertheless, the first to raise suspicion concerning the authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, and their criteria dominated discussion for a long time. "Curious and naive though this criterion may seem" to modern Western scholars, as it did to Bernhard Karlgren, "it has been largely resorted to in Chinese critical literature," sometimes leading to "ludicrous conflicts of opinion," as that between the famous Tang scholars Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan in their evaluations of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Therefore, Karlgren argues, it is "high time that this criterion was definitely eliminated from the discussion on authenticity" (Karlgren, 1929:166-167). The fact that the majority of Chinese scholars have for so many centuries followed Liu Zongyuan in attacking the *Pheasant Cap Master* for its stylistic inconsistencies may in fact be very revealing—rather than merely curious or naive—of the different kind of unity that they and we expect from a text.

The second major portion of commentarial evidence consists of the commentaries written on the *He guan zi*. While comments on the book started with Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan in the Tang dynasty, the only fully extant commentary dates from the Song, written by the well-known scholar and politician Lu Dian (1042-1102).¹ Although all extant complete editions can be traced to his version of the *Pheasant Cap Master* with his commentary appended to it, some remnants of other editions and commentaries are also preserved. We will turn to them after exploring the traditional comments written on the *He guan zi*.

4.1. Comments on a Work of Poor Style

Liu Xie's enthusiasm was not to be long-lived. Even admirers of the *Pheasant Cap Master's* ideas, we will see, complain about its poor style and linguistic deficiencies (see pp. 72-73). The first to accuse

the *Pheasant Cap Master* of being a forgery, based on its "base and shallow" style, was Liu Zongyuan (773-819). He came across the *Pheasant Cap Master* through his admiration for the Han poet Jia Yi 賈誼.

Reading Jia Yi's *Owl Rhapsody*, I admired its verses. But scholars think that it came completely out of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. In my comings and goings in the capital, I sought the *Pheasant Cap Master* but it was nowhere to be found. Only when I arrived in Changsha did I get a copy of this book. I read it: all base and shallow expressions. Only what [Jia] Yi [is supposed to have] quoted is beautiful. Of the rest, nothing is acceptable. I think that an amateur forged this book, and that he, instead, took from the *Owl Rhapsody* in order to embellish it. It is decidedly not the case that Jia Yi has taken from it.

After being exiled to the South in A.D. 805, Liu Zongyuan found a copy of the *Pheasant Cap Master* in Changsha, where the *Owl Rhapsody* (*Fu niao fu* 鵩賦) was written by Jia Yi (in 174 B.C.), who had also been sent away from the capital. Liu's verdict is that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is a book of no stylistic value, which an amateur tried to ameliorate by stealing parts from Jia Yi's good poetry. Many scholars, especially those who do not want to pursue the matter further, follow this verdict. Hightower resumes the consensus in a footnote:

Ever since Liu Tsung-yüan's critique. . . it has been the general consensus that they were copied from "The Owl." . . . Certainly the section of the incomplete chapter on "The modern use of arms" [ch. 12] in *Ho-kuan-tzu*, which incorporates in garbled sequence twenty similar or identical lines of "The Owl," is an irrelevant intrusion in rhyme. (Hightower, 1959:129)

But Liu Zongyuan goes further:

If there really were a Pheasant Cap Master book, it definitely would not have been one that took from the *Owl Rhapsody* to fill it out. How do I know this? They belong to different categories. (*Liu Hedong ji*, 4.10b-11a)²

Liu even denies the existence of any Pheasant Cap Master edition prior to 174 B.C., because a later forger with some good taste would never have thought of plagiarizing the *Owl Rhapsody* and interpolating it into the *Pheasant Cap Master*, considering their differences. The whole work must be a later creation by a poor amateur, using the *Owl Rhapsody* to embellish his own style.

Despite the impact of Liu's verdict, traditional opinion has been somewhat more balanced, allowing that there existed an authentic core of the *Pheasant Cap Master* to which later generations have added material from texts such as the *Owl Rhapsody*. A certain Mister Zhou 周氏 from the Song dynasty, for instance, believed that there is nothing valuable about the *Pheasant Cap Master* except for the two passages that Han Yu quoted from chapters 1 and 15 (see p. 72). Even so, the description in chapter 9 of an administrative system using a political vocabulary from the state of Chu "does not seem to be later than Jia Yi." The value of the text is nevertheless nil: "That hermits in mountains and woods chat about the Way is all right, but why then ignorantly discuss kingly policies?" (*Notes by Mister Zhou*, preserved in *Wen xian tong kao*, 211.1734b).³

Song Lian (1310-81) is more positive; he believes that the forged text contains a valuable and authentic core: "Grading his book obscure and coarse, later people mixed it even more with base and shallow statements, so that readers all hated it and did not investigate its meaning anymore" (*Zhu zi bian*, 7).

Later scholars such as Hu Yinglin, Liang Qichao, Wang Kaiyun, and Huang Yunmei 古今偽書考補證), Huang Yunmei tries to reconcile the opposing opinions of two great scholars from the past:

Traces that the plagiarism goes in the opposite direction [than Liu Xie's claim] are more than obvious. And that the *Owl Rhapsody* ought to be considered superior, is clear. How very true was Liu Zongyuan's judgment. . . . What Liu Xie saw, was definitely not the extant work. A corrupt version such as the extant work, how could one still call this "deep words"? (Huang Yunmei, 1977:154-55)

Huang suggests that there once must have been a valuable *Pheasant Cap Master* with "deep words," seen by Liu Xie, but also that this earlier text was corrupted by later hands before Liu Zongyuan's time. His conclusion shows how closely related the putative inauthenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* is to its uneven style— and to the charge of plagiarism, to which we will return after considering the second type of commentarial evidence: the commentaries written on the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

4.2. Commentaries on the Pheasant Cap Master

Despite the traditional negative evaluation of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, more people than just the Northern Song scholar, Lu Dian (1042-1102), wrote commentaries on it, although his commentary is generally considered to be appended to all extant complete editions. The extant commentary provides variant readings, pronunciation, and interpretation, sometimes by quoting from indirect textual evidence of the *Pheasant Cap Master* or by citing other works. At times the commentary consists of one character, *ju* 元有 . . . "originally there was . . .," possibly indicating a commentator's emendation based on other editions or on personal conjecture.

This is a first indication that the presently extant commentary ascribed to Lu Dian is from at least two hands. The "*yuan you*" commentary is either from a person who made an emendation and

put the original in his commentary or from a later commentator in the possession of different editions, indicating earlier emendations by others. There are reasons to believe that the emendations are not from Lu Dian's hand. Although complaining in his preface about the wording of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, he seems resolved to refrain from emending the text. Lu Dian explains that whatever he did not understand, he "kept doubts (*yi*) about it, waiting for a learned and profound scholar" (*He guan zi xu*, 2) The occasional one-word commentary "doubt" (*yi*) seems to confirm this resolution. At times, the commentary suggests emendations without making them in the text: for example, "*Bian should be (dang wei 當為) dian*. Later on all (editions) have this" (9:52/4).

But there is even stronger evidence that the present commentary is from at least two hands. Some comments are divided by a blank (in the *Dao zang* edition) or a small circle (in the *Si bu cong kan* and the *Zi hui* editions). The commentary that precedes this mark usually concerns textual variants. The commentary that follows it contains all types of information but never comments, pro or con, on the variant readings suggested in the notes preceding the

***He guan zi*, 11:80/7-9**

***Commentary quoting Zhuang zi*, 10:25/38-9, tr. Graham (1986:210)**

Hence, when divinities and awesome signs above change the lights, ⁵

This is what Lao Dan calls: "disturb the brightness of sun and moon above."

haste and tardiness in the middle move *qi* 氣,

This is what Lao Dan calls: "interrupt the round of the four seasons in between."

injuries and disasters below reside on earth.

Some have: omens descend and reside on earth.

This is what Lao Dan calls:
"dissipate the quintessences of
mountains and rivers below."

mark. It does not even take notice of them, but continues the commentary that was not divided by such a mark. To give a concrete example: the original commentator—let us assume this is Lu Dian—quotes the *Zhuang zi* three times to interpret three different parts of one line in chapter 11 of the *Pheasant Cap Master*:

As in this case, the second commentary, which follows the blank (in the *Dao zang* edition) or the circle (in the other editions), is never responsive to the first (above italicized) but follows the variant in the extant edition and the undivided commentary. I therefore suspect that the comments preceding the mark—always concerning textual variations—are from a later commentator, while the undivided commentary may be either his or Lu Dian's. Thus, when the commentary is not divided and concerns textual variations, one cannot know who wrote it. Further research on the style and content of the commentary could perhaps indicate different hands at work.

There is more commentarial evidence on the *He guan zi*. First of all, the indirect textual evidence, consisting of quotes from the *Pheasant Cap Master* in other works, contains interesting clues as to how editions may have looked without Lu Dian's notes and how his commentary may have influenced the present redaction (see pp. 84-85). A piece of direct textual evidence is the Dun huang 敦煌 manuscript, with an anonymous commentary probably written before the Sui (A.D. 581-618). Besides the commentary, only the first and last pages of the original manuscript have been published. Judging from this evidence, the commentary was a very close paraphrase of the text, alternatively written between sections of the *Pheasant Cap Master* text in characters of the same size. Only the fact that each section of text or commentary starts at the top of the page, leaving the previous line partially blank, helps one distinguish the text from its commentary. This could easily have led to commentarial intrusions (see p. 98).

4.3. From Poor Style to Plagiarism

Returning to the comments written on the *Pheasant Cap Master* from the Tang dynasty onward, their most relentless criticism is the accusation of plagiarism. Although the *Pheasant Cap Master* never

acknowledges a presently extant source,⁶ it nevertheless has a longstanding reputation for borrowing from other texts, and it shares remarkable parallel passages with contemporaneous works. Accusations began with Liu Zongyuan's claim that an amateur fabricating the *Pheasant Cap Master* quoted Jia Yi's *Owl Rhapsody*. From the very beginning, the accusation of poor style was related to a discussion of "borrowing." Since the Song dynasty, many more instances of possible plagiarism have been identified, prompting long discussions in which the authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been impugned.⁷

Recent discussions, however, have moved away from such gross, usually negative, characterizations to a more subtle and sophisticated analysis, often directed at defending the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Two important questions in this dispute concern the direction of borrowing and the dates of the texts involved. Considering that quoting older or contemporary texts, the sources of these texts, or versions of these texts that predate their final form, does not necessarily provide evidence of a late forgery, the most relevant accusation of plagiarism concerns the *Owl Rhapsody*, written in 174 B.C. (see pp. 23-24).⁸ But even though the question of plagiarism from the *Owl Rhapsody* is relevant, the *Pheasant Cap Master's* authenticity ought not to be posed as a yes-or-no alternative based on the relation between these two texts. It remains interesting to know who plagiarized what, why, and how. The answers to these questions will again reveal gradations of unity, depending on who may have added the foreign passages to the *Pheasant Cap Master* or the *Owl Rhapsody*: the first author, his disciples, a later forger, or a commentator who did not know that his words would eventually be interpolated in the original text.

Borrowing Between the Owl Rhapsody and the Second Part of Chapter 12

Chapter 12, "Arms of the Age" (*Shi bing* 世兵), and most particularly its second part, was the first section of the *Pheasant Cap Master* to attract literary attention and, soon afterward, also the first section to raise doubts about the authenticity of the whole treatise. We have seen how Liu Xie's admiration for the *Pheasant Cap Master* was

overridden in the tradition by Liu Zongyuan, and never really revived, despite the defense mounted by the *Si ku quan shu* editors. The conclusions of scholars such as Tan Jiajian 譚家健, Neugebauer, Graham, and Williams move from cautious defense—"nothing proves that *Pheasant Cap Master* is the borrower"—to a tentative accusation that it was Jia Yi who used the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Hightower, Ogata * 大形, and Qian Mu are exceptions, countering these recent defenses.⁹

In the following presentation of the *Pheasant Cap Master* / *Owl Rhapsody* parallel, I have quoted major portions of the parallel passages, preserving the order of the respective texts. For the sake of easy recognition and at the cost of stylistic elegance, the parallel lines have been italicized and translated almost identically in both texts.¹⁰

*Pheasant Cap Master*¹¹

*He catches the stream to set off, and joins the Way to roam, . . . For the Way, nothing is inadmissible. He gets his calculations from heaven, fixes his position on earth, and makes names among men:*¹² *that is the utmost of timing. How could he ever be turned back? How could he ever beback? How could he ever be controlled?*¹³
Arms rely on positional advantage to overpower. A timely opportunity is not constantly sent. Early and late, shortage and surplus in reverse reproduce and generate, changing and transforming without exhaustion: *how could one overstate it?*
Water, when stirred, becomes violent. An arrow, when stirred,

*Owl Rhapsody*¹⁵

All things alter and change, *never a moment of pause; rotating and moving*, sometimes advancing and retreating... *How could it be overstated?*
Misfortune is what fortune leans on; fortune is what misfortune relies on. Trouble and joy gather at the gate; good and bad luck share the same place. Wu was strong and big, but Fu Chai was defeated. Yue was restricted to Kuaiji, but Gou Jian became hegemon of the age. Li [Si] traveled and consequently succeeded, but finally underwent the five types of mutilation. Fu Yue was sent into bondage and then became minister to Wu Ding.
Fortune and misfortune, how

goes far. Quintessence and spirit are propelled in circles. Shaking and shuddering, they rotate each other: sooner or later, they all have a decree: they inevitably must hit the orders and announcements. Union and dispersion alternate: who discerns their timing? The utmost person leaves things behind, and is only the Way's companion. He relaxes his body,¹⁴ entrusts his fate, with the seasons goes and comes. Growth and decline, death and life: who discerns their expected date? . . .

Disaster is what prosperity leans on; prosperity is what disaster relies on: prosperity and disaster are like an interwoven strand. Chaotic and confused, their qualities are like one. Joining and dissolving shape and qualities: who knows their norm? Vague and indistinct, and without features: only a sage can decide on their meaning. Rotating and moving, never a moment of pause, at every end there is a beginning: who knows its apex? . . .

However obedient the man of the masses is, how could he fix disasters and prosperity? Trouble and joy gather at the gate; fortune and misfortune

could they differ from an interwoven strand? Their fates cannot be explained. Who knows their apex?

Water, when stirred, becomes violent. An arrow, when stirred, goes far. The myriad things are propelled in circles. Shaking and shuddering, they rotate each other. . .

When the Great Potter fashions all things, the crucible is endlessly vast and limitless. Heaven cannot be plotted with. The Way cannot be planned with: sooner or later, they all have a decree. How can we know their timing? . . .

Heaven and Earth is a crucible, the Creator is the smith. Yin and yang are the charcoal, things are the bronze: combining and scattering, waning and waxing, . . .

If by coincidence one becomes a man, how could this be worth controlling? If one is transformed into another thing, how could this be worth lamenting? Petty knowledge goes out from biases, despising others and valuing oneself. A man of understanding has a broad vision: nothing is inadmissible [for him]. A greedy man would die for wealth, a martyr for a reputation, a

share the same place. Failure turns back into success; completion into defeat. *Wu* was big, its arms strong, but *Fu Chai* got in trouble. *Yue* was restricted to *Kuaiji*, but *Gou Jian* became hegemon of the age.

A man of understanding has a broad vision, and thus sees what is admissible. . . *Guan Zhong*, was put in prison.

The endless vast and limitless, of all crucibles, which could get it? The utmost success is without partiality, buoyant like unfastened vessels. . .

Heaven cannot be planned with; earth cannot be plotted with. A sage lets things go: following their pattern, he lodges with them. The common man is confused, forced by wishes and desires. Petty knowledge sets up biases; like and dislike originate from anxiety. A bragger would die for power, valuing himself and proud of his appearance. A martyr would give his life for a reputation; a greedy man for wealth. . .

The inadequate is bound to customs, the worthy contends according to the right time.

Small incidents and petty pricks: how could they be worth doubting? (12:86/3-90/3)

bragger for power. . .

The restricted scholar is tied by customs, confined as though put in prison. The utmost person leaves things behind, and is only the Way's companion. The common man is confused: desires and aversions pile up to intentions. . .

Roam with the Way, and catch the stream to set off or rest against an isle. Relax your body, and entrust your fate, unbiased towards yourself. Let your life be like floating, your death like rest. Placid like the quietness of a deep abyss, buoyant like unfastened vessels. Don't treasure yourself because of your life, but float while nurturing the void. A man of power has no attachments. He is not troubled by the knowledge of his fate. Small incidents and petty pricks: how could they be worth doubting?

Comparing the italicized passages in both texts, one is struck not only by the different sequence of the lines, but also by the very length of the parallel. The relation between both texts is close and long enough to indicate some relation of borrowing.

Read and evaluated separately, the *Owl Rhapsody* has never raised suspicion. It is long and uniform rhymed prose in which the owl deplores the unpredictably changing universe and celebrates a detached attitude toward it.¹⁶ Even if Jia Yi had used the *Pheasant Cap Master*, this could be seen as a case of successful first-person borrowing, and would not raise doubts about the dates or authenticity of Jia Yi's rhapsody.¹⁷ The second part of chapter 12 of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, however, has attracted attention because it stands out as exceptional in the chapter as well as in the work as a whole. Arguments brought against and in favor of the *Pheasant Cap Master* concern style, content, vocabulary, and the attitude toward "borrowing" as evidenced in both works. The *Pheasant Cap Master's* reputation of being "base and shallow" is derived from a consideration of these same conditions. Further analysis must therefore evaluate this traditional intuition in order to reassess the value and complexity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

How "Base and Shallow" Is He guan zi, 12?

One of the most frequent criticisms directed against *He guan zi*, 12 with respect to style concerns rhymes. Neugebauer (1986:43-4 n. 101) has responded in detail to Hightower's condemnation of this "incomplete chapter" with its "irrelevant intrusions in rhyme" (Hightower, 1959:129). Ogata* cites the poor style of the chapter as one indication of its spuriousness (Ogata*, 1983:17-18). And there is Liu Zongyuan's claim that *Pheasant Cap Master* and Jia Yi's works are of "different kinds." Whatever this Tang critic may have meant by "different kinds," it is certainly true that the *Owl Rhapsody* advances a philosophy and attitude that contrasts sharply with the *He guan zi*: while the owl deplores the universal unpredictability and celebrates psychological detachment, *Pheasant Cap Master*, broadly speaking, trusts in the sage to see through the process of change and discern the all-encompassing order in which everything has its appropriate place. Jia Yi's desperate rhetorical question

about who can possibly see through the tangle of fortune and misfortune receives a positive answer in the *Pheasant Cap Master*: the sage and the enlightened general can.

Such differences in tone and content ought not to raise suspicion: a quote from another source always carries new meanings when incorporated into a new text. The quantum difference that we find here is not totally foreign in the Chinese corpus: very often, in philosophical texts as well as in literature, disagreement does not lie in explicitly opposing statements, but in alternative interpretations of the same lines or values (see p. 138). One way to discern the direction and type of borrowing is to detect contradictions between the parallel and nonparallel passages within the texts under scrutiny. Such contradictions, to which I will turn later, would not only indicate the direction of borrowing but also identify the later hand. We can assume that a first-person borrower would have had the sense either not to quote a blatantly contradictory passage or to remove it.

Bruce Williams tends to believe in the primacy of the *Pheasant Cap Master*: according to him, Jia Yi may have been the creative, polemical borrower who "elegantly turned the language of *Ho-kuan tzu* against itself and . . . had it marshal support for a position it could not accept" (Williams, 1987:58-159). Williams therefore appeals to the most popular argument used in defense of the *Pheasant Cap Master*: There is a clear "pattern of borrowing" evidenced by Jia Yi throughout his rhapsody. The *Owl Rhapsody* consists of many allusions and quotations from mainly Daoist sources.¹⁸ In light of this, the suggestion that Jia Yi borrows from the *Pheasant Cap Master* would not be anomalous. The converse, Williams remarks, is less probable for several reasons.

The first of these is that the second section of chapter 12 does not exhibit the pattern of borrowing that we find in the *Owl Rhapsody* (Williams, 1987:55).¹⁹ That the parallel is exceptionally long for this part of chapter 12—even for the whole *He guan zi*—is true. However, this argument saves the *Pheasant Cap Master* only from the borrowing hypothesis, not that of forgery. This same argument—namely that the original *Pheasant Cap Master* does not tend to quote such long rhapsodic passages—convinces Williams that it must be authentic; but it can equally support the conclusion that it is a fabrication by some later person. This is precisely the thinking of Qian Mu, who rejects the defense of the *Pheasant Cap Master* by

the *Si ku quan shu* editors, who had claimed that borrowing does not necessarily bring into question the authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. The parallel in the second part of chapter 12, Qian Mu argues, is exceptional and "not like those talked about by the *Si ku ti yao*" (Qian Mu, 1986:484-85). The parallel passage is indeed an exceptionally long poetic outburst in the midst of a military chapter—for Williams, an indication that the *He guan zi* is the source; for Qian Mu, that the passage is forged into the text.²⁰

The second argument put forward by Williams is that Pheasant Cap Master can hardly be the borrower, because it would be too much of a coincidence that he would have chosen precisely only those passages from the *Owl Rhapsody* that are not themselves quotes from or allusions to other early works. If true, this would be a more convincing argument for the priority of the *He guan zi*, suggesting that the *Pheasant Cap Master* was not just one among the texts from which Jia Yi had quoted, but by far the favorite text considering the length of the parallel passage. To counter this claim, I have listed seven instances where the *Owl Rhapsody*/*He guan zi* parallel has a close resemblance to or even a literal parallel with the *Zhuang zi*.

From this table, we see that the *Pheasant Cap Master* and *Owl Rhapsody* bring together echoes from different chapters of the *Zhuang zi*. In four lines (89/2-6) the *Pheasant Cap Master* gathers quotes from no fewer than five *Zhuang zi* chapters, in the following

<i>The Owl Rhapsody</i>	<i>Zhuang zi</i> ²¹	<i>He guan zi</i>
1 Misfortune is what fortune leans on; fortune is what misfortune relies on. ²²	Misfortune and fortune generate each other. (25:72/71)	Misfortune is what fortune leans on; fortune is what misfortune relies on. (12:88/1)
2 Heaven cannot be plotted (<i>li</i> 謀) with.	He does not ponder or plot (<i>li</i>), he does scheme or plan (<i>mou</i>). (15:40/12)	Heaven cannot be planned (<i>mou</i>) with. The Way cannot be plotted (<i>li</i>) with. (12:89/3-4)

<i>The Owl Rhapsody</i>	<i>Zhuang zi</i> ²¹	<i>He guan zi</i>
3 ... despising (<i>jian</i> 矜夸). (12:89/4-5)		
4 A man of understanding has a broad vision: nothing is inadmissible. (<i>wu wang</i> <i>bu ke</i> 其可) (12:88/8) OR For the way nothing is inadmissible (<i>dao wu bu</i> <i>ke</i> 道無不可). (12:87/2)		
5 A greedy man would die for wealth (<i>xun cai</i> 徇利). The knight for a reputation (<i>xun ming</i>). (8:22/20)	A martyr would die for a reputation (<i>xun ming</i>), a greedy man for wealth (<i>xun cai</i>). (12:89/6)	
6 a bragger (<i>kua zhe</i> 死權) ...	if power (<i>quan</i>) and authority do not increase, the bragger (<i>kua</i> <i>zhe</i>) frets. (24:66/37)	a bragger (<i>kua zhe</i>) would die for power (<i>si quan</i>). (12:89/5)
7 buoyant like unfastened vessels.	buoyant like unfastened vessels. (32:88/11)	buoyant like unfastened vessels. (12:89/2)

order: chapters 32, 15, 24, 17(?), and 8, one of which is tentative because of its brevity. The *Owl Rhapsody*, in this parallel passage, quotes from four *Zhuang zi* chapters: 17(?), 2, 8 and 24. The echoes, although not literal, are undeniable. The fact that both texts in a

parallel passage share quotes from three different *Zhuang zi* chapters strongly indicates that the *Pheasant Cap Master* and *Owl Rhapsody* are quoting one from the other or from a common source which had already joined the quotes. Because the *Pheasant Cap Master* and the *Owl Rhapsody* are much closer to each other than to the *Zhuang zi*, pure coincidence would be highly improbable. In passage number 4, for instance, "a man of understanding" is associated with "nothing being inadmissible" in both texts, but not in the *Zhuang zi*. The fact that the *Owl Rhapsody* is closer to the *Zhuang zi*, combined with the fact that it contains many other quotes from the *Zhuang zi*, while chapter 12 of the *Pheasant Cap Master* does not, strongly suggests that the *Pheasant Cap Master* has borrowed from the *Owl Rhapsody*.²³

Who Borrowed from the Owl Rhapsody?

The hypothesis that the *Pheasant Cap Master* contains material from the *Owl Rhapsody*, and not the other way around, is not necessarily a return to the traditional verdict that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is spurious, but allows for various subhypotheses with important implications for the date and authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Graham is bothered more by the inconsistencies in the whole *Pheasant Cap Master* than with the direction of borrowing between chapter 12 and the *Owl Rhapsody*. Whatever the direction may have been, for Graham, their closeness merely provides further evidence that the *Pheasant Cap Master* dates from within a few decades of 200 B.C. However, the fact that it borrows from the *Owl Rhapsody* would contradict Graham's conclusion "that *Ho-kuan-tzu* was written during the last decades before the victory of the Han in 202 B.C." (Graham, 1989.H:509). If the parallel passage was quoted by the original author, the core would necessarily postdate 174 B.C., the year in which the *Owl Rhapsody* was written. Our conclusions concerning the dating of the core prior to the Han dynasty (see p. 30), combined with the established direction for borrowing, lead us to opt for a weaker kind of unity: chapter 12 of the *Pheasant Cap Master* is partly a later forgery.

In Graham's hypothesis, chapters 12 and 13 constitute block C, the Primitivist utopia written during the political hiatus between

the Qin and Han dynasties. To argue for this claim, Graham uses quotes and ideas almost exclusively from chapter 13, "Complete Knowledge" (*Bei zhi* 備知), one from chapter 12, and none at all from the *Owl Rhapsody* parallel in chapter 12 (Graham, 1989.H:527-29).²⁴ Graham also advances several phrases linking the second part of chapter 12 with the rest of the work, but again, none of them belongs to the *Owl Rhapsody* parallel. All of them occur before and after, not within, the parallel passage (Graham, 1989.H:501).²⁵ Some terms within the parallel passage even sound rather un-*He guan zi*-like, as does *jia*—"unit" versus "family"—in chapter 9, "Kingly Blade" (*Wang fu*) (see p. 49). They suggest a contradiction between the paralleled and nonparalleled passages in the second section of chapter 12. Although we cannot demand a perfectly consistent use of terminology from the author, they add to the feeling that the *Owl Rhapsody* parallel is foreign in chapter 12.

The first internal contradiction in chapter 12 is its use of *su* 捐物 (12:89/4) is used in the same sense as elsewhere (4:14/5-6) in the *Pheasant Cap Master* (see p. 192). Such contradictory use of terminology strongly suggests that a later "amateur," as Liu Zongyuan put it, forged poetic passages into the *Pheasant Cap Master*.²⁷

I agree with the traditional verdict that the possibility is excluded that the parallel poetic passage came freshly from the Pheasant Cap Master's imagination and that Jia Yi borrowed from him. Content, style, terminology, linking phrases, and parallels with other texts, such as the *Zhuang zi*, all suggest that the incomplete quotation is inconsistent with both the Pheasant Cap Master as a whole and chapter 12. The hypothesis that the Pheasant Cap Master himself was the borrower is implausible because of striking disjunctions between the parallel and nonparallel passages within the second section of chapter 12. The Pheasant Cap Master, moreover, does not elsewhere quote such long poetic passages. This

hypothesis would also challenge earlier conclusions concerning the dates of the core. The more convincing alternative is that some later person introduced the parallel into the text—the hypothesis of a later interpolation, long suggested by traditional scholars and most recently supported by Qian Mu.

Commentarial evidence raising suspicion about the unity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* began in the Tang dynasty and was accompanied by charges of plagiarism. The discussion of the most decisive charge for the traditional rejection of the *Pheasant Cap Master* demanded a further fragmentation of its chapters into sections and characters within the text and its commentary. Although, to date, the commentarial evidence has remained largely unexplored, the analysis of the commentary attributed to Lu Dian and of the poetic passages in chapter 12 indicates how complex and corrupt the extant *Pheasant Cap Master* is, and supports the hypothesis of plagiarism in the form of later interpolations in the text. It remains to be seen whether the textual evidence reverses this judgment.

Chapter 5

Textual Evidence and Expectations Concerning Textual Unity

Traditional criticism concerning the "base and shallow" style of the *Pheasant Cap Master* probably resulted to a certain extent from its textual corruption, although this was seldom stated explicitly. In addition to prompting both condemnation and neglect, this type of textual disunity has, from the Tang dynasty onward, sent scholars in search of an original *Pheasant Cap Master*, the sole "ancestor" of all presently corrupt editions.

The first complaint concerning "deficient and corrupt" passages in the text comes from the Tang scholar Han Yu (768-824), whose interest in the *Pheasant Cap Master* led to some conjectural emendations. At least by the Song dynasty, emendations were sometimes suggested in the commentary rather than put into the text itself (see pp. 47-48). As a result of the growing interest in philology during the Ming dynasty and the careful examination of different editions during the "evidential research" (*kao zheng* 考證) movement of the Qing, scholars started to compare variants from different editions or older quotations and to collect their preferred variants in textual notes.⁹¹ Thus far, attention remained focused on the meaning of the text: changes were made or suggested in order to allow Pheasant Cap Master to make his best argument. No attention was paid to the implications of this selection process, the history of the text itself, or the genealogy of its editions.

At the beginning of this century, corruptions in the text led to a new explanation of the *Pheasant Cap Master's* disunity and hence

to an alternative "unity": the hypothesis of commentarial interpolations. Even more recently, attention in *He guan zi* studies has shifted from the content of the text to include the material text itself, of which the first extant edition happens to be about fifteen centuries later than the *He guan zi*'s core. This long period of transmission and gradual corruption through both neglect and enthusiasm ought to raise suspicion about the reliability of the present text as preserved in the extant editions. In Western sinology in general, and more specifically in *He guan zi* studies, textual analysis has been largely ignored.

No more than a decade ago, scholars such as Bruce Williams and Angus Graham started looking at the filiation of the various editions, selecting the most important among them, comparing them with older quotations from the *Pheasant Cap Master*, working through the implications of this comparison, and laying the groundwork for the establishment of a critical text. The sources for, first, tracing the hypothetical ancestor, and second, establishing a critical edition, are twofold: direct and indirect testimony. The former consists of actual *He guan zi* editions, complete and abridged, of which the oldest date from the Ming dynasty. The latter is an assemblage of older quotes explicitly attributed to Pheasant Cap Master, of which the oldest are found in medieval works from the fifth century A.D. onward.

5.1. A Corrupt Text

In his *Reading the Pheasant Cap Master (Du He guan zi)*, Han Yu expresses his admiration for He guan zi's insights and, more particularly, for two passages: the theory of "four tests and five arrivals" (*si ji wu zhi* 學問), that things in themselves have no value apart from the opportunity that makes them valuable (see pp. 120-130). But Han Yu's enthusiastic description ends *en mineur*: "After reading its expressions three times, I felt sorry that its wording is deficient and corrupt. I corrected thirty-five characters for it, added three, eliminated twenty-two and commented on twelve" (*Han Changli ji*, 11.15b). While admitting that Pheasant Cap Master may have enjoyed using mysterious expressions, for

Han Yu to simply assume the lacunary wording of his edition to be its original condition would contradict the principle of cooperation, the spontaneous attempt to make sense of a text. Hence his emendations. Although the intention of such emendations are to give He guan zi his best argument, they have often damaged the original text even more.

In his preface, Lu Dian shares Han Yu's despair at the textual corruptions. Driven by a similar concern for the content but apparently with more respect for the material text, he decides to refrain from emending the original text.

The instances where the wording is deficient, corrupt and impossible to check, are many. An expression says: "If a document three times makes *lu* 鹿⁰² of *di* 帝, what empty words!" I pitied it, and therefore analyzed of it what could be known. What could not be checked, I kept my doubts about, and therefore wait for a broad and profound scholar. (*He guan zi xu*, 2)

The next person to explicitly complain about the textual corruption of the extant edition was the bibliophile Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 (1872-1950). Uniquely in possession of two completely different versions (an extant edition and the Dun huang manuscript) Fu writes:

Of the wording of these eight to nine chapters, with corrections and deletions, I restored about 400 expressions.... As there are now 400 occasions where the Tang version could correct the mistakes of the present version, this is evidently what since the Tang and Song all scholars have wanted but were unable to see. If with the help of this edition, they had tried, some of its strange expressions and mysterious meanings would have become clear in one day! But, unfortunately, the one preserved in this generation was this very poor edition. (Fu Zengxiang, 1929:719)

The textual difficulties of the extant *He guan zi*, this "notoriously corrupt and difficult text" (Graham, 1989.H:497), have often functioned as an impregnable wall, turning scholarly interest into

indifference and neglect. For some scholars, however, it has been a challenge. This discussion concerning the textual history of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, exploring remnants of indirect and direct textual evidence, follows in their tracks.

5.2. From Textual Corruption to Commentarial Interpolation

The accusation of commentarial interpolations as an explanation for the corrupt state of the *Pheasant Cap Master* dates only from this century, following the partial publication of Fu Zengxiang's *Dun huang* manuscript in 1929. As an indication of the superiority of this text, Fu detects an interpolation of commentary in the first chapter of the received version. Thanks to the published facsimile of the first page, we can follow his argument and compare it with the parallel text of chapter 1, "Broad Selection."

The extant *He guan zi*, 1:1/ 5-2/3 (combined with the indirect evidence of the *Qun shu zhi yao*, 34.16b-17a)

The way has altogether four tests: one is heaven, two is earth, three is man, four is mandate (*ming* 命).⁰³

Men have five types of arrivers:⁰⁴ one is "100 times yourself," two is "10 times yourself," three is "equal to yourself," four is "servants," five is "slaves."

What is called heaven, is what patterns the essential character of things.⁰⁵ What is called earth, is what is constant and does not (*fu* 不) leave. What is called man, is

The *Dun huang* manuscript, *Guoli*
Beiping tushuguan yuekan, 3.3:1545/5-8.
(The passage that Fu considers a commentarial interpolation is italicized.)

The way has altogether four tests: one is heaven, two is earth, three is man, four is mandate and assessment (*ming quan* 命權).⁰⁷

and enjoys life. What is called mandate (*ming*), is that of which none does not reside with the lord. As for the lord, he corrects the spirits and illumined; the spirits and illumined have man as basis; men have the worthy and sagely as basis; the worthy and sagely have "broad selection" as ...

what hates death and enjoys life. What is called mandate and assessment (ming quan), is that of which none does not reside with the lord.

As for the lord, he corrects the spirits and illumined; the spirits and illumined have man as basis; men have the sagely and worthy as basis; the worthy and sagely have "broad selection" as ...

Because in the Dun huang manuscript text and commentary look exactly alike, being distinguishable only by the fact that they each start from a new column, they easily can be confused if the text ends at the very bottom of the page and the commentary starts at the top of the following column. According to Fu, this is exactly what happened:

The commentary about the "four tests" beneath "mandate and assessment" has in the present version thus entered the text proper. Suppose we had not seen this Tang dynasty handwritten version, how would we have been able to correct these mistakes? (Fu Zengxiang, 1929:719)

Although Haloun died before he could write down his findings about the *Pheasant Cap Master*, he was probably influenced by Fu's postscript when he claimed that "about a seventh of [the *He guan zi*] is incorporated commentary of the +4th or +5th [century A.D.]. By the +7th century the text was more or less as we now have it." (See Needham, 1956:547.) I believe Graham has provided some convincing arguments against this hypothesis, such as the observance of the taboo for *zheng* in this dubious passage; the presence of the expression *bo xuan* (broad selection), from which the title is taken; the parallel passage with the *Zhan guo ce* 戰國策 (A.D. 631); and so forth (Graham, 1989.H:530-31).⁰⁸



Figure 1:
 Fascimile of the first page of the Dun huang manuscript of the
 Pheasant Cap Master



Figure 2:
Fascimile of the last page of the Dun Huang manuscript of the
Pheasant Cap Master

As a close study of the indirect evidence will indicate, the *Pheasant Cap Master* may contain many commentarial interpolations. But Fu's arguments concerning this particular case are not convincing.

5.3. Indirect Evidence

The most valuable glimpses of a relatively original *Pheasant Cap Master* are preserved as explicit quotations in works from the fifth century on. A listing of all quotes up to the first extant edition of the *Pheasant Cap Master* in 1445, located in commentaries on other works, in encyclopedias, anthologies, catalogues, and comments on the *Pheasant Cap Master*, is provided in appendix 4. While this so-called indirect testimony has received scarcely any attention, I believe it is valuable in questions concerning the authenticity of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as an aid in detecting commentarial interpolations and in determining superior variants in different editions. Not only are these quotes older than the extant editions, their quality is often superior. As Hal Roth observes,

Compiled under imperial auspices by teams of leading scholars of their day, these encyclopedias were composed of quotations from the best available editions in the imperial libraries, arranged topically. As a result, they often contain quotations that have more successfully preserved original textual readings than have the extant complete editions. (Roth, 1992:63)

A complete and detailed study of all variants given in the pre-*Dao zang* quotes is a task for which the complexity outweighs the gain. For evaluating the indirect evidence of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, I have selected as relevant case studies two sources that are particularly valuable in the detection of commentarial interpolations.

The Qun shu zhi yao

The *Qun shu zhi yao* is an anthology presented to the court in 631 by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (A.D. 581-643). It contains quotes from chapters 1,

"Broad Selection" (*Bo xuan*); 2, "Calling Attention to the Rare" (*Zhu xi* 世賢), in that order. It is the first evidence of a *Pheasant Cap Master* redaction with separate and titled chapters. Lost in China for seven centuries but preserved in Japan, the *Qun shu zhi yao* remained relatively free from later emendations or restorations, although the compilers did have the habit of abridging the passages. None of the three *Pheasant Cap Master* chapters is quoted in its entirety.⁹⁹ In quoting the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the *Qun shu zhi yao* excels among all other sources, except the *Yong le da dian* 永樂大典, in the length of the quotes and their substantially different readings. One of the most striking differences between the *Qun shu zhi yao* and the received version lies in the opening line of the *Pheasant Cap Master*:

Received version	<i>Qun shu zhi yao</i>
That the kingly blade is not the instrument of one age, is because of its thickening power (<i>hou de</i> 隆德). (1:1/4)	Selecting broadly is grading power and assessing talent. (34:16b)

I have found neither *hou de* nor *long jun* used in this way in pre-Han and Han dynasty sources.¹⁰ This fact alone, however, does not carry much weight in a work such as the *Pheasant Cap Master*, abounding with idiosyncratic expressions. Williams finds confirmation of the received version on the first page of the Dun huang manuscript, copied in A.D. 629, two years before the presentation of the *Qun shu zhi yao* to the throne. "It is unclear," he speculates, "whether the Tun Huang MS and the *CSCY* [*Qun shu zhi yao*] citations represent significantly different recessions, whether *CSCY* is a conscious abbreviation of the passages or whether *CSCY* may have undergone corruption in transmission" (Williams, 1987:207 n. 3). For him, the superiority of the Dun huang manuscript seems beyond question.

Other scholars, such as Sun Yirang (1895:6.4a) and Zhang Jincheng (1975:645), prefer the opening line of the *Qun shu zhi yao*. Despite the testimony of the Dun huang manuscript, which is itself not beyond doubt—it may represent an inferior recession or even be a forgery—much is to be said for their choice: the source is relatively old and reliable, and the line translates well, refers directly to the

三曰若已四日斷役五日從祿所謂大者捉物
 生者也所謂地者常不亡者也所謂人者惡死
 者也所謂會者堂前亡者者也若夫耆耄
 明者也所謂老人以爲本人者以賢聖爲本賢
 聖者以博學爲本博學者以五至爲本此六面
 事之則已己者先充而後克亮固而後熟則
 己者使人起已起則若己者至滿九縣故指
 麾而使則爵役者主唱唱則徒隸人主矣矣
 常者與國處王者與父處己主與役處
 第書治學 卷之五十四 十七

Figure 3:
Indirect evidence of the Pheasant Cap Master in the Qun shu zhi
yao, 34:16b-18b

也不任所愛必使醫藥主曰其施燒曰主其
忘之乎昔伊尹醫殷人公醫周百里醫秦中
醫郭旅李醫韓范蓋醫越管仲醫齊而立五國
顯其善一也然道不同教異主曰願聞其數
曰主病不問藥文侯之問扁鵲耶曰子昆弟三
人其病最重者為醫問曰長兄其病中兄次之
扁鵲最為下也文侯曰可得聞耶扁鵲曰長兄
於酒醪神未有形而診之故名不出於家中兄
治病其在毫毛故名不出於閭若扁鵲者見血
尋書治要 卷之三十四 十八
脈按毒藥刺肌膚而名出聞於諸侯文侯曰吾
使子行醫衛以扁鵲之道則桓公幾能成其
霸乎
列子
天瑞
子列子曰天地無全功聖人無全能萬物無全
用金銀故天職生質地職形貌聖職教化物職
所宜性也生有性然則人有所知地有所長
聖有所立物有所通則或然於一方者則盡則
虧矣

所謂若過是則不能何則生者不能形就形
者不能教化者不能通所宜定者不
出所位不可也故天運之運非轉則聖人
之教非仁則無萬物之宜非則則未此皆隨所
宜而不能出所位者也
殷帝問
太禹曰六合之間四海之內繫之以日月經之
以星辰紀之以四時變之以太歲神靈所生其
物異形或大或微聖人能運其道
聖書治要 卷之三十四 十九
力命
管仲有親小白問之曰仲父之濟病矣至於
大濟則寡人臨乎國而可疾昔曰公孫微繁
小白曰聽叔牙可曰不可其為人寡廉鮮士
其於不亡者不比之人
之通終身不遂不能使之治國上且鈞乎君
下且違乎民不私則遂其不能與其齊界
於君鈞弗久矣小白曰然則孰可對曰勿已則

447
Figure 3:
Continued

title, and fits the content of the chapter. Arranging the kinds of persons presenting their service to the court under five headings is a way suggested to the ruler for "grading their power" and "assessing their talent." Further on in the text it observes: "Hence, who has power (*de*) over a myriad men, is called "talented" (*jun*); over a thousand men, "valiant," over a hundred men, "splendid" (1:3/1-2, reappearing in 18:118/8-9). The chapter concludes with the advice: "Reward by calculating achievements, pronounce by weighing power (*de*). If the kingly blade lies herein, who would be able to cause confusion?" (1:3/8). In content as well as vocabulary, the line from the *Qun shu zhi yao* fits well in the chapter and in the work as a whole. This occurrence of the "royal blade" at the very end of the chapter could be the cause for the transposition of "the kingly blade is not an instrument of one generation" from chapter 9 to the beginning of this chapter (9:60/2).¹¹

With the evidence of a long quotation from chapter 16 in the *Qun shu zhi yao*, another remarkable case of commentarial interpolation can be detected. The chapter consists of two stories, making a political point by using medical analogies. The variants in question belong to the first story, two versions of which appear below (differences are indicated in italics).

Received version (the commentary is in boldface type)

King Zhaoxiang **Zhao should be Dao** asks Pang Xuan: "Someone who rules over others, does he really have persons who govern his state?" Pang Xuan says: "Don't tell me the King has not heard about how Yu Fu practiced medicine? Once [the treatment] was *completed*, [the patient] was definitely cured, and ghosts and spirits fled away from him."¹²

*The king of Chu came to court because of the Sui army.*¹³

Qun shu zhi yao

King Daoxiang asks Pang Xuan: "Someone who rules over others, does he really have persons who govern his state?" Pang Xuan says: "Don't tell me the King has not heard about how Yu Fu practiced medicine? Once [the treatment] was *known*, [the patient] was definitely cured, and ghosts and spirits fled away from him.

*In bygone days,*¹⁵ Yao, when putting men in charge, would

Therefore, he was like Yao, when putting men in charge: he would not employ relatives, but make sure to send the capable. And in curing diseases, he would not put in charge those he loved, but make sure to send an experienced doctor.

*When the king of Chu was told the news that his old age had brought a disease along, he was sure to rely on Yu Fu.*¹⁴

King Zhaoxiang says: "Good!" (16:100/8-102/5)

not employ relatives, but make sure to send the capable. And in curing diseases, he would not put in charge those he loved, but make sure to send an experienced doctor."

King Daoxiang says: "Good!" (34:17b-18a)

The two lines in the extant redaction that I suspect to be commentarial interpolations are exceptional in many ways: they are difficult to translate, they apply the medical legends to concrete Chu politics, and they mention the state by name, while a little further in the same chapter, Chu is referred to by its capital, *Ying* 郢 (101/6). Even Neugebauer, although generally loyal to the received version in his translation, wonders "whether these two sentences, concerning the king of Chu, ought to be here" (Neugebauer, 1986:237 n. 8). By regarding these lines as commentarial interpolations, one opens the debate to other questions, such as the suggestion, stated most explicitly by Qian Mu, that the political terms from Chu in chapter 9, *zhu guo* (Pillar of State) and *ling yin* (Chancellor), were indeed inserted later into the text (see p. 19). This would then add something to the debate over the author's place of origin: the Master may have been from the state of Zhao; his commentator—disciple, coauthor, editor, or forger?—from Chu.

Against Williams's speculation about the *Qun shu zhi yao* being consciously abbreviated or corrupted, it should be remembered that this work is celebrated precisely for being pristine due to its long absence from Chinese soil, while the *Pheasant Cap Master* has the opposite reputation. Although none of the three chapters is quoted in its entirety, in the case of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, abridgement never occurs within a quoted passage, unless it was of

these dubious lines concerning Chu in chapter 16. The fact that in the discussed cases the *Qun shu zhi yao* offers a superior reading is confirmed not only by the meaning and coherence of the text, as argued above, but also by the support of other editions and linking phrases.¹⁶

The Yong le da dian

Completed in 1408 under Emperor Yongle (1403-1424), the *Yong le da dian* encyclopedia slightly precedes the first direct testimony of the *Dao zang*, printed in 1445. It originally contained eight entire chapters from a nineteen-*pian* edition of the *Pheasant Cap Master* without commentary: chapters 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, and 19 (Williams, 1987:179 n. 353). Only chapter 11, "Supreme Indistinctness" (*Tai lu* 泰錄),¹⁷ has been preserved.

The first important variant is the absence of *qi* 元 (original) in the *Yong le da dian*. To compare:

Yong le da dian

Received version (the commentary is in boldface type)

Hence, heaven and earth are formed from original **Some version has *wu*** 元). The myriad ride heaven and earth. (19743:1a5)

Wu Guang, with the concurrence of many scholars, relies solely on this dubious occurrence of the term *yuan qi* in the received version to attribute to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, as its most important contribution to ancient philosophy, "the theory of 'original energy' in its embryonic shape." As the theory was previously thought to be Han, he concludes that, "if we accept the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a pre-Qin ancient text, this traditional idea has to be revised from its very roots" (Wu Guang, 1985:158).¹⁸ The *Yong le da dian* provides evidence that the original *Pheasant Cap Master* may have contained no *yuan qi*. Given that *yuan qi* occurs regularly in the commentary, one may speculate about the possibility of commentarial interpolation.¹⁹

The following variant provides evidence that the *Yong le da dian* has not simply dropped Lu Dian's commentary, but that it is witness to a pre-Lu Dian edition. It explains an interpolation from the Lu Dian commentary into the received version.

Received version (the commentary is in boldface type)

Hence, what doesn't change after the completion of a shape is measure: what is present there, without having left itself, is *the sea-gull lover*.

He who is like the sea-gull lover, because his heart moves inside, the sea-gulls remain dancing above [in the sky]. This is "to be present there, without having left itself." (11:76/9)

Yong le da dian

Hence, what doesn't change after the completion of a shape is measure: it is what is present there, without having left itself.
(19743:1a6)

Lu Dian comments (in different print) on this passage by alluding to a story from the *Lie zi* 狎漁 (sea-gull lover) in the original text has made it completely incomprehensible. Only the *Dao zang* edition, which is generally considered the oldest and most conservative extant edition, has two lacunae instead of *xia ou*, thus confirming the suspicion that it is a commentarial interpolation. The fact that the *Yong le da dian* does not have this interpolation indicates that it has not merely removed the Lu Dian commentary but actually quotes a pre-Lu Dian recension.²⁰

The most important of all textual variants in the *Yong le da dian* is a passage of 223 characters toward the end of the chapter missing from the received version.²¹ (The differences between the editions are italicized):

The *Dao zang* edition

Hence, a sage starts things off in heaven, and receives them on earth. The one who, residing *[lac.] [lac.]*, is like yin and yang, prevents dryness and moisture ... That those *three*, if the sage exists, are in order, and if not, in disorder, is because. .

All other editions

Hence, a sage starts things off in heaven, and receives them on earth. The one who, residing in *heaven and earth*, is like yin and yang, prevents dryness and moisture . . . That those *two*, if the sage exists, are in order, and if not, in disorder, is because . . . (11:81/2-6)

The meaning changes drastically when, in the middle of this passage, a quote of 223 characters from the *Yong le da dian* is inserted (with the inserted passage italicized):

Hence, a sage starts things off in heaven, and receives them on earth. When residing in heaven *he does not "thing": of the foolish, no one trusts him. When residing on earth, he has completed a shape: the foolish would definitely die for him. The sage engages in affairs from the not-yet-sprouted; the foolish engages in affairs from the already-completed . . .*

He goes deep into the minute and enters the spiritual. Therefore, while his tracks can be walked, his achievements cannot be reached . . . Someone like heaven's palace, quintessential spirits lodge in him. Someone like earth's granary, life grows and winter stores in him. Someone like yin and yang, prevents dryness and moisture . . . That those three, if the sage exists, are in order, and if not, in disorder, is because . . . (19743:1b8-2a4) ²²

There is every reason to consider this passage original. Without it, the line of thought breaks off and the argument does not make sense. It fits the *Pheasant Cap Master* in ideas, terminology, and grammar. But most importantly, it explains the *Dao zang*'s conservative clinging to "three" (*san* 三). The passage in the other extant editions, apparently about heaven and earth or about yin and yang alone, quite naturally has seduced scribes or editors to emend "three" to "two." With the passage from the *Yong le da dian* restored, it becomes clear that the sage is compared with "heaven," "earth,"

and "yin yang." While *san* is appropriate in the *Yong le da dian*, it is, together with the two lacunae, strikingly conservative in the *Dao zang*. Loyalty to the text, despite its meaning, confirms the authenticity of the *Dao zang*. As in several other cases further on, the *Yong le da dian* encyclopedia and the *Dao zang* edition confirm each other.

Besides this corroboration and the affinity between this inserted passage and the rest of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, there are strong links with other parts of the text. The final claim about the importance of the sage when compared to these three is an answer to the question formulated earlier in chapter 10: "Supreme Majesty asked Supreme One: heaven, earth and human affairs, among these *three*, which is of first priority?" (10:66/4). Considering the affinity between chapters 10 and 11 and the fact that they may have been only artificially divided, it is not surprising that a question of chapter 10, *Tai hong* 泰鴻 ("Supreme Flood"), gets answered in chapter 11, *Tai lu* ("Supreme Indistinctness"). And finally, a parallel passage in chapter 7 confirms the *Yong le da dian/Dao zang* variant: to Pang zi's question of whom or what should be given priority, Pheasant Cap Master answers that man should be given priority over heaven, earth, and the seasons (or yin yang) because, "as for the *three*, if the sage is present, they are ordered; if not, they are disordered. That's the reason to put man first" (7:33/4-34/1, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:70).²³

To conclude, the *Yong le da dian* is even more obviously superior to the received version than is the *Qun shu zhi yao*. However, this does not mean that it is faultless or that it represents the only undeniably "original" text.²⁴ Not only is it older than the first extant *Pheasant Cap Master* edition, albeit by only a few decades, it also makes the best sense, is the most coherent, is confirmed by its closeness to the *Dao zang*, is able to explain mistakes in the other editions, and, finally, is superior in a way that can hardly be explained as editorial restoration.²⁵

These two case studies attest to the value of indirect evidence for detecting cases of commentarial interpolation, tracing the hypothetical original redaction and establishing a critical edition of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Many scholars have, in their commentaries or textual notes, preferred these readings to the extant editions, but have not considered the possible implications of this preference.

鵲冠子

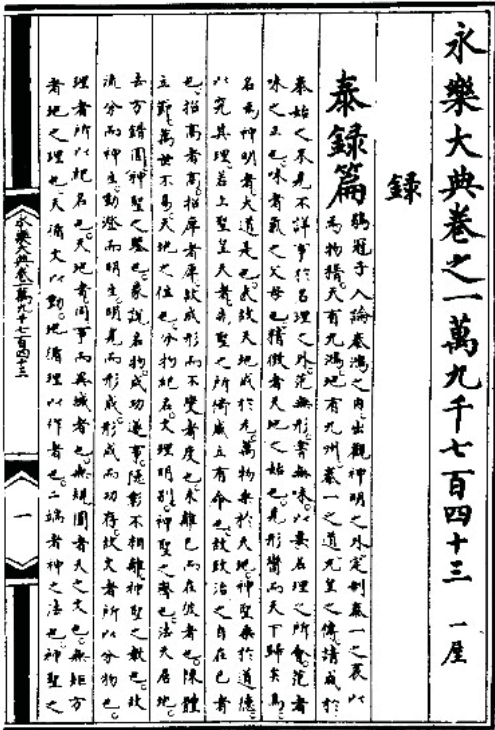


Figure 4:
Original reading from the Pheasant Cap Master in the Yong le da dian, 19743: 1a1-2a6

人后先天地而事者也。復天地生。然知天地之能。先天地也。然知天地之
終。道也。故能知度之尊卑焉。故能知動之明歟焉。故能制斷之精神者。
物之有度者也。曰聖者。精神之原也。美音焉。故靡不仰制者。所以衡精撰
神致氣也。幽則不洩。簡則不煩。不煩則精明達。故能使賢能。使神明。百化
隨而變。終始從而豫。神明者。精精微全神之所成也。聖道神方要之極也。
帝制神化治之期也。故肝為君。而學為臣。上賢為天子。次賢為三公。高為
諸侯。易姓而王。不以祖籍為君者。欲同一善之長也。復天地動作於習見
然後事成於外。萬物出入焉。然後生物無害。閏閏四時。引移陰陽。意深澄
物。天下以焉自茲。此神聖之所以絕來也。聖居神大。有驗而不可見者也。
故遇人可見。絕人未達也。神明所以類合者也。故神明。銅結其結。類顯生
成。用一不窮。影則隨形。響則應聲。故形聲者。天地之神也。四時之切。陰陽
不能獨為也。聖王者不失本委。故神明。終始焉。卒今八風三光之變。絃氣
不常之狀。貌不詔清辦理焉。故神靈咸明。上變先。疾徐緩急中動氣。故傷
毀禍下在地。故天地陰陽之災。今取象於神明之初。既已見矣。天者氣之
所總出也。地者理之必然也。故聖人者。出之於天。故之於地。在天不物。應
其信之。在地成形。惡故死之。聖人者。從事乎未明。惡者。從事於其已成也。

Figure 4:
Continued

天地者。勸業以用於文。理於聖人者也。故文不藏賢者。四遠而祥。則月不
傷。未者。美成而福。主以此。自聖人之。故道德可貴。度數可法也。知道德
之主。度數之謂者。則不從心。意之所。不隨耳目之所。故能全。神。萬物
皆得其。如是者。不假物以。益。不拂天地以。為。大。自。若。以。處。而。萬物。包
為。者。聖人之。主。也。以。右。與。之。則。聖。比。之。則。外。聖人之。所。意。深。於。微。月
於。神。政。其。速。可。道。而。功。不。可。及。也。夫。法。義。度。則。滅。於。中。宮。華。張。未。出。見。於
外。營。者。也。若。天。官。者。猶。神。舍。焉。若。地。府。者。主。失。不。藏。處。焉。若。陰。陽。者。杜。條
以。法。義。與。時。違。焉。三。者。聖。人。存。則。治。亡。則。亂。者。天。失。其。大。地。失。其。理。也。
以。是。知。先。聖。立。百。神。者。上。德。就。大。道。尤。此。者。物。之。最。也。及。至。乎。祖。籍。之。世。
代。雖。之。君。身。雖。不。然。而。精。審。猶。不。果。之。者。其。能。受。乎。有。道。之。主。者。也。不
然。則。能。守。宗。廟。存
國家。者。未。之。有。也。

歌邏錄國 唐會要歌邏錄國之域在金山南與中牟部落接薛
延陀破滅之後中牟人眾漸大歌邏錄卒其下以歸
之及高祖之征中牟也歌邏錄初雖未降仍登其以征之後中牟破滅
歌邏錄僕則漢胡路實乃三部落並諸胡見大寶初與地歸執意茲哥次

二

永樂集卷之三

Figure 4:
Continued

Relying on indirect evidence in other sources rather than on the extant editions of the *Pheasant Cap Master* suggests that these sources are remnants of a less corrupt version and, hence, casts doubt on all passages of the extant edition that have not been quoted in early sources, especially those that do not make sense. For the *Pheasant Cap Master*, such a conclusion could lead to a relapse, this time more definitive, into viewing it as a corrupt text.

5.4. Direct Evidence

Three complete extant editions can be selected as possible ancestral redactions, each standing at the head of a specific lineage of editions and containing certain characteristic textual variations which indicate that they cannot possibly be derived from each other. Because of this status, they are not only closest to the hypothetical ancestor of all editions but also most valuable for establishing a critical edition of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.²⁶ These three editions are the *Dao zang*, printed under Ming Zheng Tong 正統 (1436-50) in A.D. 1445, the *Si bu cong kan*, photographically reproduced from a Ming facsimile of a Song edition, and finally the *Zi hui*, from 1577, consisting of one instead of three scrolls (*juan*).²⁷

The findings of my predecessors concerning the value of these editions can be summarized as follows: Williams believes that the *Dao zang* is the sole ancestral redaction, followed by all others: the *Si bu cong kan* follows perfectly; the other editions contain emendations. The *Zi hui* is such an emended edition. He believes that all other editions follow the *Dao zang*, often via the *Zi hui*, possibly making new changes and mistakes (Williams, 1987:108-13). Graham's alternative is that there are two ancestral redactions, the *Dao zang* and the *Si bu cong kan*. The latter is, via the *Zhu shi hua zhai* 朱氏花齋 edition of 1625, followed by the *Zi hui*, with respect to filling in lacunae (Graham, 1959.H:498; 498 n. 4).

The discussion concerning the direct textual evidence of the *Pheasant Cap Master* will be limited to this summary of Williams's and Graham's conjectures and to the three main editions mentioned. Only the most relevant textual variations will be presented in order to evaluate the above claims and to locate the respective editions.

The Primacy of the Dao zang Edition

There is much evidence for the primacy of the *Dao zang* edition: in addition to the corroboration of the *Yong le da dian*, it is supported by its early date, other indirect evidence, internal linking phrases, parallels with other classical works, the context, and its conservative respect for lacunae.²⁸ Its lacunae are never the result of a failure to copy an illegible graph, which would attest to the *Dao zang* edition's relative lateness, according to Paul Thompson's directional principles.²⁹ As was the case with the lacunae for *xia ou* (sea-gull lover) and for *tian di* 天地 (heaven and earth), its edition is almost always a better version of the text. Evidence was provided for the superiority of the mutual confirmation of *Dao zang* and *Yong le da dian* in these as well as other cases. (see pp. 86-87) The restoration or omission of these lacunae in other editions supports the hypothesis that the *Dao zang* is an ancestral redaction.

Williams's claim, however, goes further. That the *Dao zang* would be the sole ancestral redaction from which all others are derived is a claim of exclusivity. However, the high number of exclusive variants in the *Dao zang* edition indicates that it is "terminal": in other words, that because it contains many variants exclusive to itself, it cannot be the sole immediate ancestor of all the other editions.³⁰ The indication that there ought to be at least one more ancestral redaction is further supported by the fact that some of its variants are undisputably inferior; there are variants in the other editions which cannot be convincingly explained as restorations or mistakes made by their compilers.

The most remarkable case is that in which the *Dao zang* edition alone has a lacuna for the character *si* 司, which occurs in all other editions: "Therefore display the five models and use them to direct (*si*) the five luminaries" (*He guan zi*, 8:44/7-8, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:114).³¹ This variant is confirmed by a parallel line in the *Classic of Sixteen* (*Shi liu jing*), the second of the four *Silk Manuscripts*. It has: "When the five models have been displayed, use them to direct (*si*) the five luminaries" (*Shi liu jing*, 3:23b, tr. Zhang, 1993:273).³² A text such as the *Shi liu jing*, only recently unearthed, is an exceptionally strong corroborative source, diminishing the possibility of conjectural restoration to a minimum.³³

The possibility of the *Dao zang* being the sole ancestral redaction that is then followed by all other editions is not plausible. Another, less defaced edition needs to be postulated in addition to the *Dao zang*.

The Primacy of the Si bu cong kan Edition

Whence would all other editions get their superior variants in those cases where the *Dao zang* clearly fails? According to Graham, they come from the *Si bu cong kan*. He believes that the *Dao zang* and *Si bu cong kan* each separately constitute direct evidence of a lost original with Lu Dian's commentary. Neither is possibly deducible from the other: not only does the *Si bu cong kan* differ from the *Dao zang*, but, where it does, each edition appears in its turn to be the most original of the two. In other words, some of their preferable readings cannot readily be explained as mistakes or conjectural restorations (Graham, 1989.H:498).

In addition to recalling its early date, Graham supports the primacy of the *Si bu cong kan* edition with a parallel and a quote. We have already seen how the parallel from the *Shi liu jing* confirms the graph *si* (direct) not only in the *Si bu cong kan* but in all non-*Dao zang* editions. To appreciate the second argument, we must return to the lacunae in the *Dao zang* edition where the long passage from the *Yong le da dian* is missing (differences are italicized).

The *Dao zang* edition

Heaven is where *qi* 氣 together comes out; earth is how the pattern necessarily is. Hence, a sage starts things off in heaven, and receives them on earth. The one who, residing [lac.] [lac.], is like yin and yang, ...

The *Si bu cong kan* and all other editions

Heaven is where *qi* together comes out; earth is how the pattern necessarily is. Hence, a sage starts things off in heaven, and receives them on earth. The one who, residing in *heaven and earth (tian di)*, is like yin and yang,... (11:81/1-4)

According to Graham, the superiority of the *Yong le da dian*, which confirms *tian* 地 (see above), "implies that the SPTK [*Si bu cong kan*] text had an exemplar less defaced than the Taoist Patrology, but also that the process of filling gaps conjecturally had already begun" (Graham, 1989.H:498 n. 3). Thus, according to Graham, the character *tian* belongs to the original text, while *di* is a conjectural emendation by the editors of the *Si bu cong kan*. This separation between the two characters is not very convincing. The character *tian*, admittedly confirmed by the *Yong le da dian* quote, could also be the result of conjectural restoration. Considering the preceding lines treating heaven and earth, *tian di* would have been the first and foremost candidate for filling the lacunae. The correctness of *tian* may therefore very well be coincidental. This suspicion receives support from the fact that in all other instances of chapter 11, the *Si bu cong kan* variants are never confirmed by the *Yong le da dian*, and are clearly inferior to it. Moreover, Graham's two examples would not support the superiority of the *Si bu cong kan* alone, but that of all non-*Dao zang* editions. The only reason for him to posit the *Si bu cong kan* as a second ancestral redaction is its early date.

A factor detracting from the quality of the *Si bu cong kan* as a candidate primary edition is the fact that the *Dao zang* and *Zi hui* editions very often agree on a variant against the *Si bu cong kan* edition; their agreement is almost always superior. A clear case occurs in an obscure commentary (in boldface type) in 8.41/7 where the *Si bu cong kan* can be seen as the edition containing later changes:

The *Si bu cong kan* edition

The *Dao zang* and *Zi hui* editions

One version has 知.

Following Paul Thompson's principle that "in simple variations between a lacuna and an illegible graph, change is in the direction of the lacuna" (Thompson, 1979:180 n. 2), we can conclude that the complex character 知 is more original than the lacuna. Unable to recognize it, the editor of the *Si bu cong kan* decided to leave the space blank.³⁴

Another indication of the inferiority of the *Si bu cong kan* edition can be found in 17:111/5, where, in the *Dao zang* and *Zi hui* editions, the ideal army is described:

Their arms had heaven, had man and had earth. Arms take man as extreme, man takes earth as extreme, earth takes heaven as extreme. ... Hence, one who is good at deploying arms, is careful to overcome with heaven, to link up with earth, to succeed with man. Once that these *three (san)* are illumined and clear, which plan could not be designed then? (17:111/1-5)

The clearly inferior *Si bu cong kan* variant is *wang* 王 (king) instead of *san* (three). These two cases are characteristic of the *Si bu cong kan* variants. They never seem to be authentic; on the contrary, they appear inferior and explicable as scribal errors or conjectural emendations. They further attest to the fact that the other edition (besides the *Dao zang*) that bears evidence as an alternative ancestral redaction, may not be the *Si bu cong kan*.³⁵

The Value of the Zi hui Edition

The impossibility of the *Dao zang* being the sole ancestral redaction, combined with the inferiority of the *Si bu cong kan* edition, leads us to search for at least one other alternative. We saw that sometimes the common variant of the *Zi hui* and the *Si bu cong kan* against the *Dao zang* is superior and that on other occasions the variant of the *Zi hui* with the *Dao zang* against the *Si bu cong kan* is superior. Could the *Zi hui* be an alternative ancestral redaction?

While Williams attributes some importance to the *Zi hui* as the basis of many later editions, he and Graham both believe that it contains several emendations, mainly in respect to filling in or dropping lacunae. Graham specifies that the *Zi hui* follows the *Si bu cong kan* in filling in lacunae where the *Dao zang* leaves them blank (Graham, 1959.H:498 n. 4).³⁶ It is indeed often the case that the *Zi hui* coincides with the *Si bu cong kan* against a lacuna in the *Dao zang* and that it sometimes drops the remaining lacuna where the *Si bu cong kan* respects it. An instance of such a variation could have

occurred at the end of chapter 1, "Broad Selection" (*Bo xuan*) (1:3/7; tr. Graham, 1989.H: 520):

<i>Dao zang</i>	<i>Si bu cong kan</i>	<i>Zi hui</i>
When token and tally don't match, affairs, when undertaken, don't succeed. Without death, no life; [lac.] [lac.] cutting, no Success.	When token and tally don't match, affairs, when undertaken, don't succeed. Without death, no life; [lac.] without (<i>bu</i> 不) cutting, no success.	When token and tally don't match, affairs, when undertaken, don't succeed. Without death, no life; without (<i>bu</i>) cutting, no Success.

Here, the *Dao zang* has two lacunae, the *Si bu cong kan* one lacuna and one *bu*, and the *Zi hui* a *bu* only. It is, however, possible that contrary to the scenario proposed by Graham, the *Zi hui* relied on an alternative version. This hypothesis gets some support not only from the meaning and the rhythm of the passage, but also from an eighth- century A.D. quote, the *Yin fu jing jizhu*, 10. It would be interesting to find out whether, besides restorations, mistakes, and conflation, at least some *Zi hui* variants come from another lost original, which would then give it the status of ancestral redaction.

There are other instances where the *Zi hui* variant is clearly superior to a variant in both the *Dao zang* and *Si bu cong kan*. One case, in 15:99/10, is a discrepancy between text and commentary in the *Dao zang* and *Si bu cong kan* (the commentary is in boldface type):

<i>Dao zang and Si bu cong kan</i>	
<i>Zi hui</i>	
Let one not be like them (<i>qi</i> 其). ³⁷ Some lack the character qi (them).	Let one not be like dark (<i>ming</i> 冥). Some lack the character qi (them).

Although this passage is not very clear, I take it that Pang zi asks about the warning expressed earlier: "Let one not be like them," (13:93/7) where Pheasant Cap Master argues that, without actually

dying, one can be as worthy as those who died for their state. All one has to know is the right time (see p. 132). The linking phrase with chapter 13, "Complete Knowledge" (*Bei zhi*), as well as the consistency between text and commentary, make the *Zi hui* variant superior.³⁸

To conclude, the *Zi hui*, from 1577, is indeed a relatively late edition and contains its own mistakes and restorations, especially where lacunae are concerned. But this does not preclude the possibility that its editors had at their disposal an alternative, now lost, edition. This hypothesis is strongly supported by the inferior variations of the *Dao zang* against all other editions, the inferior variations in which the *Dao zang* and the *Si bu cong kan* agree, the superior variations in which the *Dao zang* and the *Zi hui* agree, and the occasional superiority of the *Zi hui* against both of them. Instead of the *Si bu cong kan*, so I believe, the *Zi hui* is a candidate for being an alternative ancestral redaction. However, a definite answer to this question must await a thorough study of the textual filiation of the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

The Dun huang Manuscript

A last piece of possible direct evidence, although partial, is the Dun huang manuscript, which was in Fu Zengxiang's possession at the beginning of this century. It is twice mentioned by Wang Zhongmin (王中敏). This is the last of the four sections of the catalogue, ordered according to the destination of the 22,500 Dun huang manuscripts. The category contains scattered manuscripts in Japan and in fourteen other collections in China, for which the information is based on library and collection catalogues.³⁹

One of these catalogues was of Fu Zengxiang's private collection, where a *He guan zi shang juan* 上卷 is listed under No. 0704 with a short description:

(Preserved is the "first scroll." The whole scroll has all together 26 pages. Each page has 28 columns. All together 728 columns.) At the end is the title: "In the 5th month of the third

year of Zhenguan [A.D. 629] copied by the Dun huang professor Ling Hushuai. According to the tradition the commentary on the *Pheasant Cap Master* is written by a Song person. This is a handwritten copy from the early Tang dynasty. The commentary must be done by a pre-Sui person. This solitary edition of the ancient work, how much more valuable is it! (Wang Zhongmin, 1962:328)

The same *He guan zi shang juan* was also listed in another Chinese catalogue, with no other information than that it was Fu Zengxiang's copy.⁴⁰

The first public report on this manuscript was a photographic reproduction of only two pages—the first and last—in September 1929 (see pp. 74-77). The given date at the end of the manuscript, A.D. 629, is further confirmed by the fact that the manuscript avoids *min* 太宗 of the Tang (r. 627-649), by dropping its last stroke. In December of the same year, Fu published a one-page postscript in which the manuscript is described and compared with the *Dao zang* edition. Herein, Fu describes, compares, and evaluates the manuscript and speculates about the dates of the anonymous commentator who, he thinks, must have lived before the Sui (Fu Zengxiang, 1929:719). All the information in the *Index on the Catalogue of the Dun huang Manuscripts* can be traced to this postscript. It is followed by Fu's transcription of the anonymous commentary under which he appended, in smaller characters, individual lines from the manuscript, in order to make the location of the commentary in the text clear. Judging from the published commentary, the "one *juan*" coincides with the first half of the received version—from chapter I to 9:56/1—and hence probably comes from an edition in two *juan*. For chapter 7 no commentary whatsoever is given. As Fu remarks, the commentary completely differs from Lu Dian's. As the manuscript was probably lost with the fall of the Guomindang on the mainland, we possess only these glimpses of the original: the two photographed pages, the lines from the original copied and appended by Fu, and his transcription of the anonymous commentary.

In his postscript to the Dun huang catalogue, Wang Zhongmin divides the "scattered manuscripts" into four groups, of which three are respectable and one is "a minority which has been forged by

shameless officials, land-owners and profit-seekers." Some of these manuscripts have been critically investigated by specialists, but others have not been identified yet. "For instance, the so-called handwritten *Pheasant Cap Master* manuscript of the Kaiyuan 開元 period [713-742] has been examined by specialists. It is a forgery. (I have not seen the original *juan* yet)" (Wang Zhongmin, 1962:550). Wang does not indicate the source of these alternative dates or that of the specialists who have examined it. If he did not include this *Pheasant Cap Master* version in his catalogue because it had been determined to be a forgery, Wang probably did not doubt the manuscript of A.D. 629 that he did include. Could it be that the loss of Fu's manuscript was a chance for profit-seekers to forge a new one? ⁴¹

The analysis of the textual complexities of the *Pheasant Cap Master* has throughout the first part of this study set some initial steps toward the reconstruction of the pristine original text, an ideal which haunts all discussions. But it is hoped that the discussion has also cast doubts about the nature of such an ideal. Did a pure original *Pheasant Cap Master* ever exist? And does this have the importance generally attributed to it? If works grow as do all other things, there is no reason to chase after the long past childhood of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as if that were its only true nature. The analysis of the text has thus gradually moved its focus away from the author of the *He guan zi* in the direction of the text (chapter 2), its chapters (chapter 3), its sections (chapter 4), and, finally, to some of its individual characters or lacunae (chapter 5). The increasing complexity inherent in this approach precludes simple and final answers to simple questions such as those concerning "the authenticity" of "the *He guan zi*". The extant *Pheasant Cap Master* is past its youth and shows many signs of old age, with its infirmities, but this is no reason to deny the *Pheasant Cap Master* its share of scholarly interest. What we need is a detailed investigation of its growth process, a task to which the first part of this study has been dedicated.

PART TWO
THE PHEASANT CAP MASTER AS A RHETORICAL TEX

Chapter 6

A Work of Positive Rhetoric

The corpus of ancient texts which comprises classical "Chinese philosophy," among them the *Pheasant Cap Master*, has a strong commitment to the rhetorical: the "art of persuasion," broadly understood, was used to convince those in power of certain values, attitudes, and strategies. Rather than in truth for truth's sake, the focus of these texts lay in the best way (*dao* 道) to lead one's person, family, and state to order. Despite the increasing variety of styles, kinds of knowledge, and disparate themes contained in the bundles and scrolls that Han librarians classified as "Masters," most of these texts were focused on this dedication to order. Even the *Zhuang zi* treatises glorifying political uselessness and nonparticipation in government are, by this very rejection, not far off the main track of political concern.

One important change in the nature of texts listed under the category of "Masters" was the increasing amount of knowledge considered relevant as political advice. Thus, while Confucius generally focused on topics directly related to correct behavior and social harmony, Xun zi was involved in heated discussions on the nature and power of language, and Liu An 劉安 even gathered knowledge on astronomy, topography, and climatology in his anthology, the *Huai nan zi*. This growing amalgam of knowledge remained nevertheless remarkably consistent in its focus on statecraft. It was not presented as a neutral description of reality on the basis of which politics, as a mere side issue, could be entertained.

Another cause for diversity among the various texts was an evolution toward structured argumentation. The personal advice

reported as loose saying in the *Analects* (*Lun yu* 論語) and was systematically elaborated in separate chapters of the *Xun zi*. But even Master Xun, the most systematic of all ancient Confucians, did not try to provide his collection of treatises with one univocal system. Each separate treatise was written with the intention of convincing a specific audience of certain values, actions, and attitudes.

The nineteen chapters of the *He guan zi*, widely differing in length and clarity, consist of a combination of loose sayings, stories, and structured arguments mainly concerning political and military affairs. Medical analogies, astronomical imagery, and historical precedents all provide material for convincing the ruler. The authors' political suggestions are not derived from and secondary to his view of reality, nor does every separate chapter—let alone the whole treatise—provide a systematic presentation of a specific topic. The internal fragmentation of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, although to some extent the result of its complex textual history, is also integral to the nature of the text. Therefore, this chapter will not attempt to introduce the *Pheasant Cap Master* by recovering it with a putatively implicit metaphysical substructure or by systematically reconstructing a philosophical theory. Rather, I will speculate on the political context and main motivation of the text, thus lifting one corner of the veil on why the book was actually written.

6.1. Rhetoric, Politics, and Frustration

Western philosophy and rhetoric have stood in a tense relationship from the early days of their shared ancestry in Greek soil. Textbooks trace the sources of Western philosophy to the pre-Socratics fragments which suggest a neutral inquiry into the nature of reality by reducing it to some primary element such as water, air, numbers, or Being. This account is a fair indication of the side which the West traditionally has taken in the "quarrel" between philosophy and rhetoric (see p. 8). The first major commitment to this direction was made by Socrates as he is described by Plato in, for instance, the *Gorgias*.¹ In providing justifications, Plato followed the pre-Socratics in positing some highest reality: the realm of abstract

Forms. While Plato's views on politics and morality were dependent upon the philosopher's neutral insight into this realm, rhetoricians such as Gorgias trusted the positive power of language itself, and made their living by teaching its healing effects in politics. Insisting on the ultimate primacy of reality over language, Plato described his opponents as "sophists": advocates of the art of fine speaking colored by personal preferences, without a basis of objective truth. This view has received support of the philosophical mainstream that has dominated professional philosophy from the late nineteenth century. As a consequence of this ongoing conflict between philosophy and rhetoric, the rhetorical impulse has most often functioned as a countercurrent—going from Gorgias to Derrida—running against the predominantly philosophical tradition.

Positive Political Rhetoric

Given the absence of this tension between philosophy and rhetoric in ancient China, the texts of the "Masters" cannot easily be characterized by either of these terms. On the one hand, Western philosophers have been inclined to regard the Chinese texts as too fragmented, rhetorical, and mundane to count as genuine philosophy. On the other hand, most of these texts are also too positive and constructive to take part in a rhetorical countercurrent because they fail to explicitly attack philosophical pretensions to neutrality and objectivity.

But even in the Western tradition, rhetoricians have not always been iconoclasts eroding traditional values and presuppositions with an assertion of some extreme relativism or skepticism. This image, to a large extent promoted by the mainstream tradition, does not fit such great rhetoricians as Cicero (106-43 B.C.) and Quintilian (A.D. 35-96). For them, the skill of persuasive speech is intimately related to being a positively oriented and good person: hence, the often echoed statement that "no one can speak well who is not good himself."²

The description of major parts of the Chinese philosophical corpus, and specifically of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, as "political rhetoric" refers largely to such a positive and socially constructive practice.³ In the first Chinese official bibliography, the imperial

librarian, Ban Gu (A.D. 32-92), arranged a group of texts together under the category *zi* (Masters). Reflecting on their emergence during the turbulent period of the Warring States (453-221 B.C.), he remarks:

As the kingly way was weak and the vassals ruled with force, the lords and rulers of those days liked and disliked all different methods. That is why the arguments of the nine lineages (*jia*) swarmed out and started off side by side. (*Han shu*, 30.1746)

Even though most of the authors of treatises categorized under *zi* were not politically active in a governmental office, Ban Gu's suggestion of the framework in which these texts were written does justice to this early formative period of Chinese thought.

Hsu Cho-yun 士) and commoners. Free from traditional ties and supported by ministers whose careers depended on the ruler's own evaluation of their competence, the Warring States rulers tried to occupy an independent position and were willing to listen to a wide variety of political advice in their efforts to consolidate power (Hsu, 1985:105-6, 175-80). It is in this competition on the brink of the Imperial period that many of the treatises attributed to Masters are to be situated, written as advice and offered in competition with other texts to the central figures on the thrones of Warring States China.

Fruits of Frustration

Of the advice presented to the ruler, some concerned taxation, punishment, and warfare. Other advice warned him about specific portents, political decisions, royal attitudes, and the growing power of certain ministers. Only a portion of these political suggestions were written down, and even less preserved. Surely, not every suggestion was considered useful or effective by those in power. It is striking that the most concrete and efficient suggestions were seldom preserved in philosophical writings. "It is unfortunate," Richard Walker complains, "that men of action—Tzu-ch'an, Yen-tzu, Shu Hsiang, and the others—did not have the leisure to record their own more pragmatic philosophies" (Walker, 1953:70). The reason that those persons who actually implemented the policies seldom wrote about them was not so much a shortage of leisure time, I believe, but a lack of urge to write down their ideas. A major reason why political advice was written down and preserved under the category of "Masters" was that the authors of these texts were brimming with ideas but had no opportunity to implement them. The books in which these intellectuals figure as teachers and advisers may have compensated somewhat for this lack of actual political success.

The classical corpus is sprinkled with complaints about the inaccessibility of the ruler, his inability to take lessons from the right persons, and the disastrous consequences of this oversight. These reflections are often paired with descriptions of the universe being in total chaos, the state falling in utter disorder, and the unjust punishment of loyal ministers. This cluster of complaints was far from exclusive to the "Masters." Even practicing politicians would turn to such effusions when in dire straits. When Qin Shi Huang's influential adviser Li Si 李斯 (280?-208 B.C.) was thrown in prison as a result of his rival's machinations and influence over Qin's Second Emperor, he expressed feelings similar to those found in the *Pheasant Cap Master*:

He looked up to heaven and sighed: "Alas! What a pity! A ruler who is not on the way, how can plans be made for him? Of old, Jie killed Guan Longfeng, Zhou [Xin] killed prince Bi Gan and Fu Chai, King of Wu, killed Wu Zixu.⁴ How could one say that

these three ministers were not loyal? Yet they did not escape death. While they died, the cause of their loyalty was rejected. My wisdom now does not equal that of these three men, whereas the Second Emperor's lack of the way exceeds that of Jie, Zhou [Xin] and Fu Chai. That I should die because of my loyalty is only fitting!" (*Shi ji*, 87:2560, tr. Bodde, 1967:49).

The most explicit expression of such political frustration was perhaps the rhapsody (*fu* 賦). According to the bibliographical chapter of the *History of the Han Dynasty*, the gradual decay of the House of Zhou brought about not only the arguments of the nine lineages but also a fundamental change in the nature of the rhapsody. Originally, the recitation of rhapsodies had been a highly cultivated and powerful expression of one's intentions on a diplomatic mission. But along with political decay, "the rhapsodies of worthy persons frustrated in their intentions came into being" to indirectly criticize the policies of their decadent age.⁵

While chapter 26 of the *Xun zi*, titled "Rhapsody" (*Fu*), is the earliest known example of what Hellmut Wilhelm has called "frustration *fu*," lamenting the upside-down world in which the qualified gentleman is not given the opportunity to implement his ideas, the *locus classicus* is chapter 84 of the *Records of the Historian* (*Shi ji*). This chapter combines the similar feelings of Qu Yuan 司馬遷 (145-86 B.C.). Apart from the fact that it contains the *Owl Rhapsody*, which seems to have been freely quoted in chapter 12, "Arms of the Age" (*Shi bing*) (see pp. 60-70), the chapter strikes many similar chords in the *Pheasant Cap Master*: the frustration of political rejection, accusations against others, and reflection on suicide as a way out of the situation (see pp. 130-133).⁶

The expression of feelings of frustration and resentment brought on by unrightful rejection of an official by his ruler was thus not limited to one particular literary genre. As pointed out by the embittered Han historian in the postface to his *Records*, political adversity accounted for great writing in all branches of the Chinese lore:

The indirectness and subtlety of the *Book of Songs* and the *Book of Documents* came from the need to express the feelings

of one's aspirations against all odds. In time past, when the Lord of the West [King Wen] was imprisoned at Yu li, he elaborated on the *Book of Changes*; Confucius met with adversities between Chen and Cai and created the *Spring and Autumn Annals*; Qu Yuan was exiled and wrote *Encountering Sorrow*; Zuo Qiuming became blind and made the *Discourses of the States*; Sun zi had his feet amputated and discoursed on the art of war; [Lü] Buwei was banished to Shu, and the world passed on the *Lü lan*; Han fei was imprisoned in Qin, and the result was the *Difficulties of Persuasion* and *Sorrows of Standing Alone*; most of the three hundred songs came into being when worthies and sages wrote to pour forth their feelings of discontent and frustrations. (*Shi ji*, 130:3300, tr. Li, 1994:362)

Even successful politicians turned in their frustration to the realm of brush and ink, as did Li Si before the hour of his death. These feelings are a commonplace in the classical corpus, not least in the body of so-called philosophical texts. Therefore, and without reference to explicit points of controversy among different lineages, in many of the texts preserved under the "Masters" category, there are allusions to the rejected minister, the losing rival, and the politically ineffective philosopher. For He guan zi, "the perfect instance of the neglected genius" (Graham, 1989:217), this was certainly the case. While the book mainly addresses the ruler, the ruler in turn remains silent. It is this silence, colored with disinterest and rejection, that elicits many of the author's repeated claims, indignant remonstrations, and impatient remarks. These remonstrations constitute the heart of the *Pheasant Cap Master* and, therefore, must not be overlooked as passages of merely marginal interest. A close analysis of the author's political frustration and resentment is not only crucial to an understanding of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, but it also helps us to appreciate a profound sentiment that pervades the Chinese literary corpus: rather than "to be or not to be," for many authors "to be in or to be out" was the real question.⁷

For the author of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, writing may have been some compensation for the lack of attention that he endured in his political career. The questions posed by the disciple, Pang zi, to his Master in chapters 7, 8, 9, 14, and 15; by Supreme Majesty (*Tai huang* 泰一) in chapter 10; by King

Daoxiang (r. 244-236 B.C.) of Zhao to Pang Xuan in chapter 16; and by King Wuling (r. 325-299 B.C.) of Zhao to Pang X^huan ⁸ in chapter 19 are literary devices inviting the teachers—and, through them, the author—to unfold their insights. The respectful attitude of each disciple toward his master, more specifically that of Pang zi toward Pheasant Cap Master, exemplifies the response to his wise advice expected by the author, whether couched in the essay chapters or the dialogues.⁹

6.2. Admonishment of the Ruler

Throughout the *Pheasant Cap Master*, we find a veneration of the ruler, often cast in the imagery of a central pole controlling the celestial dome. Mark Lewis has shown how the growing association of the ruler with heaven was part of a newly arising ideology legitimating the ambitions of the rulers to unify the empire. This association was presented as the expression of the cosmic order and of social harmony as part of this order: "The ultimate sanction of segmentary, aristocratic rule in the ancestral cults was replaced by forms of sanctioned violence and authority that were justified through the imitation of the 'patterns of Heaven' by a single, cosmically potent ruler" (Lewis, 1990:53). The *Pheasant Cap Master* could thus provide ideological support for the ruler's attempt to replace kinship with cosmic associations. As justification necessarily implies the possibility of criticism, the model of heaven also functioned as a new framework for political discourse and could thus be appealed to as a norm against which the ruler's behavior was evaluated.

But the veneration of the ruler as the source of political and even cosmic order contains a danger far more immediate than the possibility of criticism. Being venerated as the source of order, the ruler could easily be held responsible for disorder, misfortune, and disaster. René Girard's analysis of the scapegoat mechanism has indicated how closely veneration and accusation are mutually related: the attribution of extraordinary powers, whether to a thing, a person, or a group of people, is often the first step to the attribution of responsibility, and hence to accusations and violence.¹⁰ He guan zi's treatment of the ruler shows both sides of this coin. Having

amplified the "One Man's" influence to extraordinary proportions, the author does not fail to point out his enormous responsibility for order in the state and the cosmos.

Veneration of the Ruler

The ruler is of utmost importance: from him issue all decrees (1:1/ 10-2/1).

That One Man! That One Man! He is where the decree reaches its extreme pole. (4:19/4-5)

As the source of order, he is nothing less than heaven.

The roots issue from the One Man: hence we call him "heaven." Nothing but receives his decree. . . . The shaping of the whole state completely resides with his person. (6:28/3-6)

If not functioning well, the source of order inevitably becomes the source of disorder. In chapter 19, "King Wuling" (*Wuling wang* 襄 (r. 457-425 B.C.), was caused entirely by the king's own fondness for warfare. This last chapter of the *Pheasant Cap Master* concludes with King Wuling's lament: "Survival and destruction depend on one's own person: how minute, what generates prosperity!" (19:121/3-5, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:258-59).

Despite the enormous responsibility laid on the ruler, his task seems at first glance minimal: he has to be capable of nonaction (*wu wei*) so that he can be joined in the utmost action (*zhi wei* 至為) (7:35/6). ¹¹ The ruler's association with vacuousness or nonaction is further strengthened by the claim that he should not be knowledgeable about governmental affairs (*zhi shi* 知事). While the lord stays away from daily business, one small but crucial task is left for him to fulfill: he has to find others to do the work well.

The affairs of the empire lie not in the ability of one man alone. The vastness of the sea doesn't rely on the flow of one river alone. Therefore, the illumined ruler in ordering the age, hurries to seek men, and does not do it all alone. (6:26/2-6)

This task is further divided into two aspects, which Pheasant Cap Master treats extensively: the selection and attraction of competent and reliable ministers.

Selection

While it is up to the minister to know his office (*zhi shi*), the ruler remains burdened with the tasks of knowing men (*zhi ren* 知人) that person. Pheasant Cap Master must have shared the awareness with many late Zhou authors and political candidates that "no one can live, except in the literal and miserable biological sense, until known by another" (Henry, 1987:9).^{12?}

He guan zi warns his readers that victory in war depends more on the quality of those surrounding the ruler than on weapons and military exploits. A ruler may ferociously defend his state at its borders while the real war is fought among the people working in his court: "While deploying troops to protect against outside, disaster turns out to reside inside; while those prepared against are far away, scoundrels reside among the beloved ones" (6:26/9-10).¹³ Personnel selection is a major task that demands the attention and skill of the able ruler: "When tailoring clothes, know to select workers for it; when 'tailoring' a state, know to seek men for it: this is definitely what the world considers impartial" (4:10/7-8).¹⁴ Or, put more straightforwardly: "Who employs men by selection, will reign (*wang* 王)" (7:35/1-2, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:75).¹⁵ To select by employment means to rely on those who have imposed themselves by virtue of family or friendship ties. It is important, therefore, to consciously and impartially select one's advisers from as large a circle of candidates as

possible and not rely only on those who happen to be around: "To honor the lord and humble the minister is not reckoning on kinship; to put men of worth in charge and employ the capable is not lodging together" (4:17/9-10).¹⁶

The ruler's reputation and ultimate fate depend on the quality of his men.

When the virtuous serve their lord, they harmonize with him in attunement. Working at¹⁷ pure honesty, they transform the people with guidance: the empire is fond of him. His way is daily agreeable. Therefore, in the end, he is bound to prosper.

If the ruler fails to carry through the process of careful selection, he will end up with incompetent and unreliable ministers.

When petty persons serve their lord, they endeavor to "cover" up his clear-sightedness and to "block" his acuteness of hearing. They take advantage of his magnificence to burn others: the empire detests him. His evil influence¹⁸ is daily inauspicious. Therefore, in the end, he is bound to be defeated, and disaster is bound to come upon the members of his clan.

Personnel selection, thus concludes the author, is what determines

the division between order and chaos; it is the pivot of prosperity and destruction, the guide of a state and its ruling family. Contrariness and compliance, benefit and harm: from this they all come forth. (6:32/4-10)

Therefore, Pheasant Cap Master offers the ruler his guidance in the successful fulfillment of this crucial task. Chapter 2, "Calling Attention to the Rare" (*Zhu xi*) provides instructions on how to distinguish the gentleman (*jūn zǐ* 君子), largely concerns personnel management, containing lists of governmental positions around the central figure of the state, the different virtues necessary for those positions, their respective impact on the seasons, their task in government, the division of labor among them, their expected achievements, and the selection criteria for discovering the most competent person for each position (6:26/10-31/2).

Attraction

The second aspect of the ruler's task is to attract the most competent persons. Simply recognizing experts is not enough if one fails to "get" (*de* 得) them to offer their services to one's court. He guan zi's concern, on behalf of the ruler, is to make worthy and capable men "arrive" (*zhi*) at his court and, on a more general level, to encourage the common people to move to his territory: The myriad people are the quintessence of power (*de*): if one's power is able to make them arrive, his quintessence is complete to the utmost (8:44/5-6, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:113).

A charismatic personality and paternal love are the ruler's means to irresistible attraction:

That is why to be a lord, the one who is as affectionate to the people as to his own children does not call them and they come of themselves. Thus he is called "glorious" and he ends up with a beautiful reputation.

The opposite is a ruler "who demands without bestowing rewards, and who seeks their affection without giving them any. Therefore, he is called 'disastrous' and he ends up with calamity" (6:32/2-4).

Like a father who wants the best for his children, the ruler always keeps the benefit of his subjects in mind: "Fix their benefit beforehand, and wait for them (*wu* 物) to arrive (*zhi*) of themselves." (10:70/1) ¹⁹ The legendary ruler in chapter 9, "Kingly Blade" (*Wang fu*), Cheng Jiu, was even able to attract barbarians from the myriad states (9:61/4-5) because "benefiting others, he did not take any benefit; revolving, he did not take a rank. Hence, people from the four directions followed him, only fearing that they would arrive too late" (9:56/6-7, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:172). Cheng Jiu's concern for the benefit of his subjects was not a matter of shrewd manipulation of their evil natures with their thirst for profit, but one of genuine care. He "embraced the four seas into one family" (9:61/4-5) and "was father and mother to them, without having anyone trampled down" (9:51/4-5).

For the attraction of political advisers in particular, paternal love ought to be coupled with genuine respect. Chapter 1, "Broad Selection" (*Bo xuan*), focuses mainly on this question. Pheasant Cap

Master promotes a theory of "five types of arrivers" (*wu zhi*), which highlights the correlation between the ruler's attitudes and the quality of those he is thereby able to attract.

Hence, if facing north, you serve them, then those hundred times yourself will arrive. If first to hasten and last to rest, first to ask and last to remain silent, then those ten times yourself will arrive. If you hasten when they do, then those equal to yourself will arrive. If you sit against a table or lean on your cane, and give orders by pointing and signalling, then servants will arrive. If you shout and scold, then slaves will arrive.²⁰ Hence, an emperor dwells with teachers; a king dwells with friends; a perishing ruler dwells with servants. (1:2/4-3/1)²¹

The point is both a clear and common one in late Zhou and early Han texts: the ruler gets the assistants whom he deserves. Ideally, a society functions as a musical harmony in which "One Man sings and the myriad others respond" (4:13/5-6). If the leader is out of tune, he cannot expect the response to be harmonious: "Tones (*yin* 音). I have never heard of a tone sent out and the echo surpassing the sound of it" (1:3/4-5).²² The quality of the ruler—in the *Pheasant Cap Master* often associated with "tones"—determines the quality of the ministers, associated with "sounds." The only way for a ruler to improve upon the response—the echo—is to work at his own attitude.²³

Blaming the Ruler. . .

According to *Pheasant Cap Master*, rulers can fail on both accounts: the selection and attraction of capable men. Being too arrogant and ignorant to carry out a careful selection, the negligent ruler merely governs with the people he happens to attract and thereby brings disaster on himself, his ministers, and the people. The text of chapter 2 laments the ruler's failure to distinguish the true gentleman from an ordinary person. Because of the inadequate ruler's lack of insight into the human character, he brings disorder on his time by failing to distinguish mediocre knowledge from great insights, or an honest appeal to rightness from mere bragging (see pp. 160-161).

Because such a ruler merely wants confirmation of his personal preferences and fails to distinguish the true characteristics of loyal advisers, hypocrisy reigns throughout the empire.

If above there is a negligent lord,²⁴ below there are no straight statements. If the lord has an arrogant behavior, the people have many taboos. Hence, men go against their genuine abilities, knights hide their real feelings. (2:5/8-9)

Chapter 13, "Complete Knowledge" (*Bei zhi*), compares the ruler with someone recklessly climbing a high tree, grasping limbs, breaking branches, and swaying to and fro. Those standing below him are in a panic, hands and feet sweating in fear. But whoever dares to stop him invariably gets executed. As a result, the people are terrified and the ruler becomes isolated (13:92/7-93/1). A similar situation is described in chapter 6:

If in his encounters with others he is violent and arrogant, the myriad people flow away; superiors and inferiors distrust each other, reciprocally as a vicious circle. Day and night disturb²⁵ each other. Those who remonstrate, are not accepted; those who speak up, risk their lives. There is nowhere whence he hears about his errors. Therefore, great ministers become artificial and unloyal. (6:31/10-32/2)

Although such complaints were common in contemporary literature, belonging to the favorite topics of the Masters' opposition, He guan zi himself may have once been among the subjects described in these passages, although he now seems rather uninhibited in candidly expressing his criticisms. A political setback during his lifetime may have driven this military adviser to the realm of ink and bamboo strips, where he could openly—but still anonymously—provide his interpretation of contemporary politics.

Chapter 7, "Surpassed from Nearby" (*Jin die*), seems to be an interpretation of just such a concrete situation. It discusses the case of a certain unnamed state that was defeated in spite of its military superiority. For Graham, there is "enough detail to tempt one to try to identify the historical event" (Graham, 1989.H:508). I have followed Wu Guang (1985:162) and Tan Jiajian (1986:60) in their

identification of this state with Chu (see pp. 19-20). ²⁶ The germ of its defeat was, according to He guan zi's diagnosis, an unworthy and arrogant ruler:

Because he is unworthy, he is incapable of nonaction and cannot be joined in the utmost action. Because he is arrogant, he treats rivals lightly, and because he treats rivals lightly, he plans with his favorites what they don't know how to do, employs those whose job it isn't, and forcefully wishes to carry away the victory over those who are not his rivals. He doesn't calculate the disaster of a whole life, in order to enjoy the pleasures of a moment. (7:35/5-8, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:77-78)²⁷

The disastrous consequences for the ruler, his ministers, and the whole state all have their source in the ruler's attitude and, more particularly, in his reliance on the wrong people:

This is the mistake of leaning on nobles and leaving the way, of underestimating others and overestimating oneself.²⁸ That's why before the general has discarded the wheel stick,²⁹ the army can be overtaken in a rush. (7:36/10-37/1, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:83)

Interestingly, the ruler's arrogant and negligent attitude, which Pheasant Cap Master deplors throughout the entire text, but most explicitly in this chapter, is also viewed from the perspective of the conqueror in chapter 19, possibly coming from the *Pang Xuan* books. There Pang X^uuan argues that the most subtle and effective type of warfare is to

dazzle the ruler of the rival state, cause him to change and dilute customs, become violent and arrogant, and miss the calculations of a sage. He gives to those he loves, ranks those without achievements, rewards before labor, pardons crimes when delighted, and kills off when furious. He considers himself cautious by punishing the people, and considers himself the utmost while minimalizing others. He fusses with the useless, is crazy about divinations, takes [lac.] [lac.] as lofty and the right as inferior, and agrees with the persons who fall

within his own intentions. (19:119/6-10, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:248-52)

According to Pang X^Huan, causing the ruler of the rival state to become arrogant and willful is a much more effective strategy than spilling blood on the battlefield. This was precisely the kind of defeat that, according to Pheasant Cap Master, the strong state of chapter 7 suffered. Although both chapters express a similar view on warfare, He guan zi and Pang X^Huan, respectively as victim and aggressor, stand in opposite camps. If one wishes to speculate further on Yuan Shu's concluding remark in the *Biographies of Genuine Hermits (Zhen yin zhuan)* concerning the break between Pheasant Cap Master and Pang Xuan, or on the "military" and "Daoist" *He guan zis* that may have existed in the Han (see p. 17), this different approach may provide a clue.

. . . for His Wicked Ministers

Veneration of the ruler is a first step; holding him accountable, a second step. But this line of thought leads to a third step, in which the blame for failure is largely foisted onto the shoulders of the ruler's advisers. Demanding that the ruler is responsible only to know men (*zhi ren*) and criticizing his competence in advancing the right ministers open wide the door for blaming those whom the ruler has selected and appointed for the operations of governmental affairs (*zhi shi*). Although the ruler is ultimately responsible, there is always another person who can be accused and punished for any concrete mistake. The real target of He guan zi's animosity is, via the ruler, the rival politician.

The analogy with the reckless tree climber in chapter 13 continues:

Those who in this generation dwell on [the ruler's] side, are all disordering ministers: their cleverness is enough to prevent the ruler from being successful; their statements enough to make government slippery;³⁰ their factions enough to secretly negotiate with each other on personal benefit and harm. (13:93/1-2)

In chapter 7, we saw that the attitude of the arrogant ruler eventually leads to war where "masses of people meet death for the failed schemes of a wicked minister" (7:36/2-3, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:80).³¹ That the people have to suffer for the failures of ministers is a recurring theme in the *Pheasant Cap Master*: "Mistakes are generated above, penalties executed below."³²

In this case, Pheasant Cap Master insists that the mastermind (*mou chen* 謀臣),³³ has to be removed:

If you do not kill this man, the problem with the two states will not be solved, and the lord's position not restored.³⁴ Out of regret for the previous errors, the planner is removed, the strategy changed. But the spill-head isn't enough: how could his relatives and goods not be dragged along? Extinguish his house, mutilate³⁵ his clan, publicly apologize to the empire, and yield to the rival state. If not, the path of war won't be cut off, the state's wound won't cease. (7:36/2-8, tr. Neugebauer, 1986: 81-83)

In this as well as other instances, the ruler's major error is relying on the wrong persons, often nobles or private clans.³⁶ Unlike the wicked ministers, he can always mend his ways by eliminating the culpable, correcting his attitude, or selecting new assistants.

Pheasant Cap Master realizes that a perfectly impartial selection of ministers is impossible to carry through. The pattern of family ties and power relations that develop among the noble clans is a network in which the ruler finds himself entangled from the first day of his accession to the throne. To handle this problem, a method more effective than the execution of the culpable is showering rewards upon those who advance worthy and capable men:

If those who advance persons of worth get high rewards, the subjects won't "cover" each other.³⁷ If without waiting to be in service, worthy knights display their "non-covered" achievements, then no one will not be totally loyal. (6:27/8-28/1)

The policy of bestowing high rewards on those who present worthy men to court not only provides the ruler with talented assistants but

further arouses competition among those who are already in service for presenting such persons and for equaling them in competence and worth. This solution should help the ruler to break through the vicious circle in which the powerful noble ministers surrounding the throne prevent him from seeing and installing talented men from other clans or layers of the population.

In He guan zi's analysis, the pivot of order and disorder is the ruler. His responsibility, however important, is merely to carefully select and attract men to governmental positions. He thereby has to guarantee the clear and reliable distribution of actual responsibilities to others. If the ruler is criticized for anything, it is for his inability to realize this task and for his reliance on the wrong persons. Although Pheasant Cap Master is rather frank in his criticism of the ruler—frank enough to remain anonymous—the actual responsibilities are so well distributed that every political decision or event, including the obstruction of the ruler's sight and hearing, can be assigned to one or more of his ministers. He guan zi's audience may be the ruler, but his rival is the other adviser.

6.3. The Ruler and the Sage

Most attention in the *Pheasant Cap Master* is directed at the sagely ruler, the One Man, who is the unique fountainhead of order. This sage-ruler is the political polestar, surrounded by his ministers, impartially distributing responsibilities and penetrating to the smallest corners of his realm. The strength of this celestial imagery, fully exploited in the *Pheasant Cap Master* (see pp. 188-193), lies in its affirmation of the very different and independent position of the central pole in relation to the other political constellations. The image of the pole being inclined to one side conveys well the cosmic-political danger of exclusive reliance on one minister, clan, or clique, a danger against which Pheasant Cap Master bundles all his rhetorical strength.

The Ruler as Sage

Ideally, the ruler is a sage. He guan zi's mythical heroes, such as Cheng Jiu (chapter 9), Supreme One (chapters 10, 11), the Nine

Majesties (chapters 4, 10, 11), and the Unadorned Majestic Inner Emperor (chapter 9) were all sagely rulers. Hence, many descriptions of the sage in the *Pheasant Cap Master* refer to rulers, providing the person presently in power with a model to emulate.

The sagely king (*sheng wang* 聖王) has a way to listen to the minute and to dispel doubt. He is able to screen off slander, to assess the substantial, to oppose indecent statements, to cut off groundless talk, to discard the useless, and shut the gate to cliques. Jealous persons do not get the opportunity to catch attention and shine. If not a scholar with a gentleman's skills, no one gets to stand in front of him. Hence, the depraved is not able to make him licentious, disaster cannot strike him. (4:7/ 10-8/4)³⁸

The charisma and power that Pheasant Cap Master attributes to the sage often attain religious or cosmic dimensions. Considering that, "according to the Chinese world-view," as Bodde puts it, "the spheres of man and nature were inextricably interwoven to form an unbroken continuum" (Bodde, 1981:171), human influence was not by definition restricted to the human sphere. The person who is able to act at the most critical point on this continuum is capable of influencing the cosmic order. Although this belief is often applied negatively, to blame the ruler for natural disasters and inauspicious portents, the *Pheasant Cap Master* attributes a positive and constructive power to the sagely ruler (see pp. 201-203, 210-213). In chapter 11, "Supreme Indistinctness" (*Tai lu*), the power of the spiritual sage (*shen sheng* 神聖), explicitly characterized as the person who rules on the basis of his worth and not because of hereditary rule, is described in cosmic terms:

Only when heaven and earth move and act in his bosom is work completed outside. Only when everything goes and comes through him does he generate them without harm. He opens and closes the four seasons, guides and shifts yin and yang, sinks hatred and purifies things,³⁹ and all-under-heaven considers it so of itself. (11:79/1-7, tr. Graham, 1989.H:514-15)

Twice it is stated that heaven, earth, and the seasons (or yin and yang) depend on the sage for their orderly operations (7:34/1; 11:81/

5-6). He "sets up heaven as father, establishes earth as mother" (10:73/1-2) and is the source of quintessential spirit, so that everybody reverently accepts his authority (11:78/4-6). Such statements attesting to the extraordinary power of this person remain difficult for a twentieth-century mind to appreciate, Bodde's explanation notwithstanding.

The Ruler or the Sage

Although it is not always explicitly stated whether the sage is also the ruler, in some passages he clearly is not. Since the establishment of hereditary rule, the quality of rulership has gradually degenerated and the combination of sagehood and rulership in one person has vanished:

Yao passed on the Empire to Shun. Therefore, lovers of the right consider Yao wise; lovers of profit consider Yao foolish. Tang and Wu [founders of the Shang and Zhou] banished or murdered [the last rulers of the Xia and Shang] to profit their sons. Lovers of the right consider them without the way; and lovers of profit consider this worthy behavior. (13:91/8-92/1, tr. Graham, 1989:296) ⁴⁰

As a result, the rulers of the present day are far from sages. Pheasant Cap Master seems to accept this degeneration with resignation: rather than demanding sagely excellence from the ruler, he merely expects him to respect and obey his advisers:

Coming down to the age of ancestral lineage, if the succeeding lord, even though as a person unworthy, faced south, claimed authority, and still did not perish, that was because he was able to receive teachings from scholarly knights (*shi*) who had the way. Otherwise, we have never had a case that one was still able to protect the ancestral temple and to preserve the state with its royal family. (11:81/7-10, part. tr. Graham, 1989:296)

The ruler ought not to be good at anything except respectfully taking advice from wise scholars. His fate depends upon these

scholars: "As for the fame of former kings, there has never been one that was not set up by scholarly knights" (4:19/2-3).

Despite He guan zi's emphasis on the unique position of the ruler as well as his dominant concern with the dangerous influence of powerful ministers, in various subtle ways the focus of the text keeps turning to another person as an alternative source of order: the ruler's sagely assistant.

One implicit indication of the sage's superiority lies in his privileged position. In the political framework of chapter 6, constructed in analogy with the sky, every ministerial position correlates with a direction, a virtue, a season, a task, and an achievement. The sage is located behind the ruler with his position in the north, associated with royal or imperial power (6:27/2). The same allusion occurs in the theory of "five types of arrivers," where the best advisers—"those a hundred times himself"—would arrive at the court only "if, facing north, [the ruler] serves them" (1:1/5). It seems to be the sage for whom the universe bows.⁴¹

Secondly, and as a corollary to the sage's northern position, throughout the whole text the sage is considered to be the ruler's teacher:

Former kings' submission to a teacher's skill consisted in calling him to come over to disperse their blindfoldedness, to untangle bondage and dissolve thorny problems, to reach out from the dark, open up to illumination, and also to regulate them. (17:109/9-110/1)⁴²

The ruler needs a sage to facilitate his insight and to help him cope with political problems. With the five different types of advisers attracted by the ruler's behavior, 'an emperor dwells with teachers,' a king dwells with friends, and a ruler who is bound to perish dwells with mere servants (1:2/10). And finally, of the various governmental offices that correspond to the different positions around the political pole outlined in chapter 6, the sage is given the task of royal tutor (6:28/9).⁴³

The merits of a sage, however, go far beyond his tutorial task. The state's fate often depends on him. While in chapter 6 all of the other ministers are expected to have a specific set of merits corresponding to their position—the humane are good at avoiding popu-

lar resentment, the eloquent at dissolving resentment, the clever at responding to difficulties, and so on—the sage is expected to have all the power and charisma that the author at other instances reserves for the most exemplary ruler:

He fixes the system on the obscure. What he seeks he reaches, and what he wishes he gets. His words are listened to and his behavior is followed. The near are dear, and the far come near. And his clear-sightedness gets through and reaches out to all four directions. (6:30/4-6) ⁴⁴

A fourth indication of the sagely minister's superiority is his occasional association with heaven, an exclusive metaphor for the one source of power and control. In chapter 6, Pheasant Cap Master presents the ruler with a detailed set of criteria to evaluate such politically important virtues as humaneness, eloquence, loyalty, and sagacity. The way a sage ought to be evaluated remains vague: "Measure depth, observe heaven: that's enough to know the sage" (6:31/2). Apparently the sage cannot be assessed on the basis of the concrete measures on which all other ministers are evaluated: he is as unfathomable as heaven.

A fifth and final indication of the superiority of the sagely minister is less subtle than the four previous ones: Pheasant Cap Master once plainly states that, as with other political offices, the throne should be bestowed on a scholarly and worthy person, not merely inherited through the ancestral line. With this claim, expressed in a way exceptionally straightforward for the ancient Chinese corpus, he extends the principle of "elevation of worth" to the throne itself, thus plainly rejecting the tradition of hereditary rule.⁴⁵ Ideally,

the teacher becomes lord, the learned becomes minister. The most worthy becomes Son of heaven, the next become the three high court officials, the lofty become vassals. That one reigns by changing surnames, and becomes lord without using the ancestral inheritance, is because one desires to share the security of the unified good. (11:79/1-3, tr. Graham, 1989:296)

At other instances in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, security is described as a commonly desired good, and the desire for this good is consid-

ered a necessary condition to rule. ⁴⁶ The first consequence of the establishment of hereditary rule was, on the contrary, insecurity:

In those dynasties they did not pass on to the worthiest. That's why there was a banished lord. Because lords were fond of factions and favoritism, there was a murdered ruler. Where banishment and murdering are inflicted, there will be a perishing state, and we have never seen anyone enjoying and securely dwelling in it. Dwelling in insecurity they absurdly⁴⁷ took it for security. (13:92/1-3, part. tr. Graham, 1989:296)

In all these various ways, going from the location of the sage in the north and his identification with heaven to the explicit rejection of hereditary rule, Pheasant Cap Master attributes a position to the sagely minister which is bound to conflict with the omnipotence of his ruler.

Ruler Versus Sage: One Versus the Way

There is, however, no explicit competition in the *Pheasant Cap Master* between the sage and the ruler. Ideally, the ruler is a sage, or the sage becomes ruler. In reality, since the establishment of hereditary rule, rulers are no longer sages and sages cannot become rulers. Even so, the author is not calling for an institutional revolution. His solution is a clear division of labor, first between the ruler and his ministers, and second among the various ministers. Like the roughly contemporary author of the "Round Way" (*Yuan dao* 圓道) chapter of the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü* (*Lü shi chun qiu*), Pheasant Cap Master exploits the celestial imagery to argue for such a division. The author of the "Round Way" chapter focuses on the distinction between "round" and "square," attributing to heaven and the ruler the task of circling around all governmental affairs while the ministers, like earth, stand square with their own functions.⁴⁸ The *Pheasant Cap Master* exploits the opposition between "one" (*yi*) and the "way" (*dao*) in a similar manner.

The ruler is identified with "one": the One Man, the unique source of order. Staying away from governmental affairs, he is the "one" pole around which the celestial bodies proceed in an orderly

"way: "The vacuous is what we call 'one'; nothing being incomplete is what is we call 'way'" (5:24/8-9). The emptiness of the central position is nonactivity, which allows others to lay out the most efficient tracks or "ways" to proceed. The author is explicit about the fact that "the sages generate the way," and, only then, "the way generates standards (*fa*)" (14:96/8).⁴⁹

While circling around the same pole and guided by a common concern, these various ways, although issuing from one source, are, importantly, preserved in their variety. More than once, the reader is presented with a list of sages who rose up from the mists of poverty and obscurity in order to guide the state for their ruler.⁵⁰ One list concludes: "What they found good was one (*yi*) but their ways did not share the same techniques" (16:101/7-8, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:241).

As for both the worthy and the inadequate, in their aspiration to the good, they are one (*yi*), but how they go for it cannot be made uniform (*bu ke yi* 不可一). He knows that the one (*yi*) cannot be made uniform (*bu ke yi*). Therefore, he values ways (*dao*). (5:24/7-8)⁵¹

The unique position of the ruler thrives on the many opinions, reports, and capacities of those around him. The various ways only share the ruler's authority as their common source.

"Hence, it is the similar that we call 'one' and the different that we call 'way.'" (5:24/5, tr. Graham, 1989.H:513)

Consolidation of the ruler's uniqueness (*yi*) thus amounts to the strict avoidance of the "one" being associated with any other person in his vicinity. The operations of his advisers and, more particularly, of the sage demand a variety of ways (*dao*), not uniformity, among them. Unity within variety is the political message.

Despite the crucial responsibility attributed to the One Man, his centripetal force lies to a large extent in his polar position rather than in his personal influence over governmental business. His only responsibility is to understand and exploit the power inherent in this position by impartially recognizing, attracting, punishing, and rewarding those who assist him. For every concrete step in the

actual guidance of the state, a minister is responsible. Although the ruler's own ability may thus have been relatively irrelevant, his position is definitely not. As Michael Loewe observes, the "emperor formed the apex at the head of the state, whence all authority could be said to devolve: without an emperor who had been duly enthroned, the framework of the dynasty was incomplete; without this formal authority, acts of the government and the decisions of statesmen could be regarded as invalid" (Loewe, 1986:179-80). In the eyes of his advisers, the ideal ruler may have been the one who combined a minimum of personal impact on governmental affairs with a maximum of institutional prestige, so that they enjoyed a reliable and predictable system of punishments and rewards. The "vision of perfect order," which Graham attributes to the bureaucrat, "in which his own promotion or demotion is secured from arbitrary or prejudiced decisions from above," seems to have been a major concern for the author of the *Pheasant Cap Master* (Graham, 1989:292).

6.4. Explaining Political Failure

If He guan zi is right in his claim, that since the establishment of hereditary rule, rulers have not been able to protect the ancestral temple and to preserve the state without advice from wise scholars (11:81/7-10), why then was his own wise advice not heeded by any ruler? This question seems to be on Pang zi's mind when he asks his Master: "If this is the empire's utmost way, how come then that the rulers of the age reject it?" (15:99/10-100/1, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:232-33). Undoubtedly, the same question must have weighed on the author, long before his disciple raised it. Various answers can be detected throughout the treatise.

Procedure by Night

Chapter 3, "Procedure by Night" (*Ye xing* 許由, the mythical recluse portrayed in the *Zhuang zi*, who rejects Yao's offer of the throne because they

both know that Xu You, although not officially in charge, already functions as the source of political order (*Zhuang zi*, 1:2/22-26, tr. Graham, 1986:45).

The passage that makes the point most clearly, even though originally perhaps not part of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, comes from chapter 16, "Worthies of the Age" (*Shi xian*). As an answer to King Daoxiang's question of whether "someone who rules over others, really has one who governs his state," Pang Xuan presents him with a medical analogy. It is told by Bian Que 扁鵲, a mythical doctor, who explains to Marquis Wen of Wei that, when compared with his two older brothers, he is the best-known yet least capable doctor. Because his eldest brother cures the disease at its first symptoms, before it has even become visible to ordinary people, his fame doesn't go beyond the family. The youngest, Bian Que, operates with needles, lancets, drugs, and herbs, on the coarse level, when the patient is visibly suffering. Therefore, his fame is heard among the feudal lords (16:102/1-7).⁵² For Pheasant Cap Master, the most powerful sage is unknown precisely because of his quality and political efficiency. While he acts on an imperceptible level, just before things start to take shape, his positive influence, even though enormous, goes unacknowledged. Unknown, like Bian Que's eldest brother, the author wants us to infer that he is equally powerful. But unlike his medical predecessor, Pheasant Cap Master keeps reminding his audience of the sage's true impact at the imperceptible level (see pp. 215-216).

The Disordered Age

The Pheasant Cap Master is clearly not satisfied with being a powerful but unacknowledged sage. He would also like to act on a level more visible than his "procedures by night," by actually assisting those in power. As in chapter 2, the ruler is often to be blamed if a sage cannot fulfill his full potential. The author warns, "When treasuring a person, don't go against the authentic in him; when treasuring a generation, don't abuse its guest" (2:4/5).⁵³ The ruler's arrogant and willful behavior and his failure to acknowledge the true gentleman drive the guest of the age away: "That's why the person of worth in a disorderly age, cutting off relations, has no-

where to communicate from; differing in kind, has nothing to report. How bitter, that a person of worth hides in a disorderly age!" (2:5/6-8). ⁵⁴ At the end of the chapter, Pheasant Cap Master warns the reader not to take the worthy's behavior under such stressful circumstances as generally characteristic of him: "Hence, observing a person of worth in a disorderly age, be careful not to consider this as his fixed character" (2:6/3-4).

A similar warning is repeated in chapter 12, followed by a concrete list of teachers who remained hidden in low positions waiting for their time to come:

Do not, whenever you see long poverty and a low social status, accordingly treat that person impolitely: Yi Yin was a bartender, Tai Gong a butcher, Guan zi produced leather, Boli Xi was an official slave. But when within the four seas there was disorder, they stood up to be the teachers of the age. (12:83/ 1-4)

Hereditary rulers, often failing in their responsibility to "know men," do not recognize the humble sage among his people. In that case, it is a crucial task of the sage to "know the right moment" (*zhi shi* 知時) and to come out only when the time is ripe for him. Answering Pang zi's question as to why his way finds no success in political circles, Pheasant Cap Master explains that whether or not one's ideas are used in politics depends on the timing.

Something not being picked up comes from not being made into an instrument; being considered mean comes from not being used for anything. If, in the middle of the flow, one loses his boat, one gourd is worth a thousand pieces of gold. Valuable and low have no constance: the moment causes things to be so. (15:100/2-5, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:233-34)⁵⁵

Pheasant Cap Master concludes that true knowledge provides insight beyond the actual situation into what makes something good at every different instance. Along with the "four tests" and "five arrivers" theory of chapter 1, this passage was highly praised by the Tang scholar, Han Yu (768-824). He asks, "If this person had met his time, leading this way, how could the merit displayed for the

state have been little?" (*Han Changli ji*, 1561). This comment fits well with He guan zi's own frustrated political ambitions as they are reflected in this very passage commented upon by Han Yu.⁵⁶

Against Suicide

Following the initial question as to what brought the author to write the *Pheasant Cap Master*, and tracing the source of his political frustration one step further, we discern strong feelings in the book about advisers and ministers who die in the performance of their duties or, more specifically, when they fail at their task. If it pleases one to speculate on this preoccupation, one could imagine that the author hidden behind the sobriquet of "Pheasant Cap Master" was originally a military adviser of the king of Chu and that his advice against some mastermind's bellicose plans was not heeded. After the defeat of Chu, probably by the state of Qin, the Pheasant Cap Master bears resentment not only against his negligent ruler, but even more so against the vicious minister whom he wants to punish. Pheasant Cap Master may have contemplated suicide, instead of fleeing or retiring, as it would have fitted the loyal minister of a humiliated ruler and conquered state. But he decided against it. This decision seems to have left its mark on the treatise, in which the author attempts to defend it against common sense, perhaps even against his own conscience.⁵⁷

He guan zi does not have a high opinion of highly principled ministers—political "refusers," as Sarah Allan (1981) calls them—such as Shentu Di 申徒狄, who renounced the world instead of temporarily accepting office under a hostile ruler while waiting for better times: "Shentu Di thought the age was too polluted to live in. Therefore, he carried a stone to throw himself in the river, but he did not know that there is much more serious turbulence under water" (13:90/6).⁵⁸

The first part of chapter 12 discusses the major differences between an enlightened and a reckless general. Considering that "there certainly always are cases of failed strategies," the author admires men who do not succumb to their first failure. Cao Mo 曹沫 (or Cao zi), the general of Lu, was such a person:

He fought three wars with Qi and lost a territory of a thousand miles square. If Cao zi's strategy had not considered the outcome, and if he had died by cutting his throat, he could not have avoided being the captured general of a defeated army. But Cao zi considered that being the captured general of a defeated army is not bravery, and that a weakened state and ruined reputation is not cleverness, that himself dead and his lord endangered is not loyalty. Someone who dies in someone else's service is unable to make the other person's life any longer. Hence, he retreated to plan a strategy with the lord of Lu. When Duke Huan assembled the feudal lords, Cao zi, with the use of one sword, kidnaped Duke Huan from his honor seat. His expression did not change; his tone was not uncompliant. What he had lost in three wars, came back in one day. The world was shocked, the four neighbors frightened, and his reputation passed on to later generations.⁵⁹

The author concludes that suicide at the earlier defeats would have excluded the possibility of great achievements. But Cao zi

discarded thoughts of anger and resentment and set up an achievement for his whole life. He dismissed the shame of a small anger and set up a reputation for generations. Hence, Cao zi acted as someone with insight into timing (*zhi shi*), and the lord of Lu as someone with insight into man (*zhi ren*).

General Ju Xin of Yan, who lost against Pang Xuan of Zhao in 241 B.C. (see p. 15), is a negative model:

When his troops were defeated, Ju Xin cut his throat. Yan, because of this, lost five cities. By killing himself he acted as the gate of disaster. By letting his own person die he endangered his lord. His reputation and accomplishments were all ruined: this is what is called failure. This is a strategy that doesn't get back at others. It isn't the scheme⁶⁰ of an extraordinary talent This man, Ju Xin, was capable [only] of putting an end to himself,⁶¹ and the king of Yan had no insight into man. (12:84/5-86/3)⁶²

The author of the *Pheasant Cap Master* seems to be insensitive to or, at least, critical of the old-fashioned knightly shame that would always have accompanied a general's loss on the battlefield. Instead, he particularly values the personal bond between the ruler and the subject recognized by him. The author admires the faith of a lord in his general's capacities, despite some initial setbacks, and a general's ability to combine loyal service with a knowledge of the right time.⁶³ As was evident from the comparison between Cao Mo and Ju Xin, knowledge of the right time is not only a matter of self-preservation but also of long-range service to the lord.

Chapter 13 presents a list of well-known saviors of their times, similar to the list in chapter 12 quoted above:

In bygone days, Tang employed Yi Yin, Zhou employed Tai Gong, Qin employed Boli, Chu employed Shen Baoxu, Qi employed Guan zi. What made these several high ministers lofty in their age, is what made [other] loyal ministers of perishing states die.

In other words, their acts were as honorable as the acts of other worthy men who died for their rulers. But they were successful because they knew their time!

Looking from this point of view, it was not their cleverness and ability that made it hard for [those who died] to take part [in government], but it was because of their timing and fate (*ming* 命) that [their ambition] couldn't be reached.

Truly worthy persons not only act as loyal ministers, they also wait for the right time to offer their services. The rare coincidence of two worthy persons meeting—one as ruler and one as minister—is such an opportune moment.

In this age, if it is not that we lack Shun-like behavior, then it is because we haven't known a Yao. If it is not that we lack Tang or Wu-like deeds, then it is because we haven't known a Yi Yin or Tai Gong.

It is important for a sage to see through the political situation, including both the state of affairs and the ruler's heart. If either of

them is not appropriate for service, he ought to retire and await better times to offer his service.

Bi Zhong and Wu Lai got benefit from Xin Zhou, but didn't know King Wu would send an expedition against them. Bi Gan and [Wu] Zixu were fond of giving loyal admonishment, but didn't know the ruler would kill them. Bi Zhong and Wu Lai can be said to have known the heart, but not politics; Bi Gan and [Wu] Zixu can be 'said to have known politics, but not the heart. A sage must be complete on both fronts: only then is he able to exhaustively unify the age. (13:93/2-94/5)

Pheasant Cap Master seems to have learned this lesson in time. He disappeared from the political scene without leaving a trace. Therefore, the actual position he may have held as military adviser cannot be ascertained. But he reappeared anonymously as a Master, offering advice and expressing his frustration from a vantage point whence it would reverberate throughout history. He would be remembered as the sage who actually brought order to the age without leaving his humble cottage in the woods, because the arrogant ruler was unable to appreciate his value.

Interpreting a text entails a process of selection and reconstruction. Confronted with the existing remnants of this fragmentary text, this chapter has complied with the "principle of cooperation," not by reconstructing the textual fragments into a systematic "political philosophy," but by focusing on the dominant concerns of Pheasant Cap Master, reflected in his most tenacious idiosyncrasies and recurrent complaints. As unusual as it may seem to introduce a so-called philosophical text with the political frustrations of its author(s), these frustrations represent perhaps the most authentic introduction to its content. From a "philosophical" point of view, contradictions such as that between a limitless confidence in the sage's power, on the one hand, versus a distress at his impotence, on the other, may be problematic. But in a "rhetorical" reading stressing the political and emotional context of the text, such contradiction should alert the reader to the centrality and delicacy of the topic in the author's mind.

The lively description of the author's resentment in such an alternative reading may have suggested the presence of one particular person behind the complaints, a military adviser from Chu who anonymously wrote this document after encountering a political setback. Although one chapter (chapter 7) supports this hypothesis, the whole *Pheasant Cap Master* may very well have been written by several hands. Despite the various possibilities of multiple-authorship discussed in part 1, the treatise nevertheless seems to speak with one voice: not necessarily the voice of one concrete person, but certainly of one "persona," one typical character on the Chinese literary scene: the eternal opposition, the neglected adviser, immortalized as "Master" in the bibliographical categories.

Chapter 7

Rhetorical Use of Language

One of the characteristics of what we have termed the "philosophical" tradition is the opposition between content and form. The content of a treatise is supposed to move from the internal realm of the author's mind to the mind of his reader via the external medium of language and script. As soon as the mental goods have arrived, their means of transportation can be forgotten. Thus, little attention is paid to the modes of expression through which the *Pheasant Cap Master* has reached us. Its abrupt style and brief passages have long discouraged philosophers, eliciting only the curiosity of sinologists intrigued by its textual problems. This chapter focuses on He guan zi's modes of expression, presenting the content as an illustration of his use of language.

In order to make his argument most convincingly, Pheasant Cap Master uses several rhetorical devices, including lists of historical or mythical antecedents, rhyming passages, persuasions, symmetrical lines, redundant synonyms, repetitions, and redefinitions of commonly accepted terms.¹ In this chapter, I will focus on this last rhetorical technique, the art of revaluing a situation by redescribing it. By naming a given action or state of affairs differently, the rhetorician attempts to alter its moral appraisal. To name an act "regicide" or "execution," for instance, has serious implications for the way it will be evaluated and treated. As Aristotle remarked, any verbal utterance is rhetorical in the sense that it tries to influence or persuade an audience by defending one view or criticizing another.² But in ancient China, the force of language went further: the choice

of words as a powerful means of subtle persuasion was particularly well known and judiciously exploited by authors.

The enormous power of words was gradually appreciated and exploited in the explicit redefinition of situations and the specific selection of language in how one calls something or what something means (*suo wei* 所謂).³ While in the *Analects* (*Lun yu*) some politically important terms are clearly used in a new and normative, rather than a merely descriptive manner, Confucius (551-479 B.C.) does not yet consciously exploit the force of his words by explicitly redefining things and events.⁴ Mencius (late fourth century B.C.) occasionally argues by redefining a term, but the focus on "naming" (*ming* 名) or "calling" (*wei*) becomes pertinent only during the last centuries B.C. Xun zi (third century B.C.) fully exploits and analyzes this rhetorical device in philosophical debate. Even though the *Pheasant Cap Master* abounds with redefinitions and specifications of terminology, the author of this text never analyzes the device as explicitly as it is by Xun zi.

7.1. With the Power of Words

Sinological studies have generally appreciated the Chinese preoccupation with language rather than with ontology, but the explicit link with the actual use of language by the ancient authors, and more specifically with their redefinitions in terms of "what we call X" (*suo wei X*) and "what X refers to" (*zhi/shi wei* 是謂X), has remained largely unexplored. If not simply abandoned in the process of translation, these expressions have been almost systematically neglected in the philosophical reconstructions of the Chinese discussions.⁵

Paradiastole and Suo wei

In Book I of the *Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle suggests that a choleric or angry person may be redescribed as "frank" and "open," an arrogant person as "magnificent" and "dignified," a foolhardy person as "courageous," and a recklessly extravagant person as "liberal" (*Rhetorica*, I, ix/29, tr. Freese, 1926:96-98). This rhetorical device, termed *paradiastole* (*παράδιαστολη*), was applied and discussed by

exponents of the Greek, Roman, and Renaissance art of eloquence. ⁶ Quentin Skinner describes it as the method "of challenging and replacing descriptions The orator's aim... is taken to be that of redescribing a given action or situation in such a way as to augment or extenuate its moral significance, thereby hoping to alter the attitude of his audience and enlist them in his cause" (Skinner, 1994:273).

Because criticism of the art of redefinition was one aspect of a sustained criticism of rhetoric, *paradiastole* as a device remained on the periphery of Western thought, failing to be given a lasting focal position despite the occasional revivals of the rhetorical tradition. Among early Roman rhetoricians, the dominant opinion was that *paradiastole* is an insidious and dangerous trick with words, causing vices to falsely appear under the names of virtues. During the Renaissance, most particularly in manuals devoted to counseling princes, such as Machiavelli's *Il Principe*, the rhetorical device of redescription was revived among exponents of the *Ars rhetorica*. As a result, the hostility directed against *paradiastole* regained its early intensity. Especially since the seventeenth century, *paradiastole* has been fiercely attacked as a mere trickery with words, for example, calling an essentially extravagant person merely "liberal," and a truly arrogant person "magnificent" (Skinner, 1991:10, 28-39).

For most exponents of the art of eloquence in the Western tradition, the art of redescription was such a deceit. But there have been exceptions. Early on, Quintilian defended *paradiastole* by insisting that it is not a matter of simply substituting one word for another (*verbum pro verbo*), but of substituting one thing for another (*res pro re*): "Since no one regards prodigality and liberality as meaning the same; the difference is rather that one man calls something prodigal which another thinks of as liberality, although neither for a moment doubts the difference between the two qualities" (*Institutio Oratoria*, VIII.iv/36, tr. Butler, 1920-22:IV:321-22). The redescription is meant to convince the audience that the actual behavior or state of affairs—the *res*—possesses a different moral character from that which has generally been thought or claimed by others.

While the art of redescription as defended by Quintilian remains on the side of the Western intellectual tradition, in the

ancient Chinese corpus the focus on how to name something is striking: redefinitions are often central to the argument, numerous, and politically loaded with value judgment. Because stipulations couched in the language of *suo wei* often, but far from always, constitute the kernel of an argument, discussion tends to proceed where one does not expect it: in the explicit choice of words rather than in the statements made with them.⁷ At first sight, the classical corpus may therefore seem in remarkable agreement on various crucial topics: despite ongoing disputes, they embrace many common values such as *dao* (way) and *de* (power), and they commonly reject *shi* (士), and so forth. Rather than explicitly promoting theft or defending regicide by pleading mitigating circumstances or by appealing to higher values, the discussion is often held in the subtle play of specifying terms used to evaluate events.⁸

Despite a seeming parallel between Western uses of *paradiastole* and Chinese claims made with the expression *suo wei*, the contrast between these devices is far more striking. While the *Ars rhetorica* and, in particular, the device of reevaluation by redefinition remained on the periphery of Western philosophy, redefinitions by appeal to *suo wei* or other means of specifying terms were instances of rhetorical language par excellence in the treatises labeled under "Masters." And while in the West *paradiastole* was predominantly used, or at least seen, as an insidious deceit that undermined traditional values and political order, the Chinese equivalent was used to promote the central concerns of the authors and was meant as a constructive contribution to political welfare.

"Regicide" in the Historical Documents

According to Xun zi, the "Great Oath" (*Tai shi* 湯誓), deserted by

heaven and executed by King Wu, the founder of the Zhou dynasty. In his battlefield speech, Wu tries to convince his soldiers that Zhou Xin, the archetypal "evil last monarch," tortured his people instead of nurturing them, and that this "outcast" was therefore the enemy of his generation rather than its king. The soldiers had every reason to support Wu in his execution of their common enemy! (*Shang shu, Tai shi*:215-16) ⁹

This is an outstanding example of rhetorical speech. Naming Zhou Xin an "outcast" rather than "King of Shang" turns Wu's deed from illegitimate "regicide" into rightful "execution." This powerful act of renaming is not merely a rhetorical device that falsely obscures the "true essence" of Wu's act. It is a new way of describing the situation by challenging the description current under the Shang dynasty.¹⁰ From a rhetorical point of view, the competition is not between Wu's biased language and objective reality but between two different ways of naming—and thus evaluating—the situation. As a true rebel, Wu may have been convinced that Zhou Xin did not deserve to be called "king." But whatever his motives were, by successfully naming Zhou Xin an "outcast," King Wu made him an outcast for his soldiers and for the future generations of Chinese history. Had the Zhou been overturned by the Shang, Wu's deed would have made history as an act of "regicide." But the Zhou house ruled, at least nominally, for about ten centuries, and it became the exemplary dynasty of Chinese history. As a result, the tradition has followed King Wu in naming this historical act an "execution" and in describing the last Shang ruler as an "outcast" and an atrocious tyrant.¹¹

A powerful tool for influentially naming political events was—and still is—the corpus of historical writings. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chun qiu* 春秋).

The sixteenth day [of the third month]: Zhouxu of Wei *shi* his prince Wan.

The Zuozhuan tells us that Zhouxu was the halfbrother of duke Huan (or lord Wan), born from another concubine. He had always

been aggressive and spoilt by his father. After this act of regicide, he took over the throne. But cruel as he was, the people detested him. Half a year later he was killed. His death entered history as follows:

Ninth month: the people of Wei *sha* Zhouxu in Pu. *Chun qiu*, 34-35, tr. Legge, 1971b:15)

Thus, at every instance of a murdered ruler, the choice of words inevitably involves an evaluation of the event. Although there is nothing exceptional about this fact—the modern English words "execution" and "murder" also convey different evaluations—the *Spring and Autumn Annals* have inspired a large amount of commentary attempting to decode the ethical judgments believed to be hidden in the chronicle by Confucius himself.

In a short article, George Kennedy has refuted this belief by showing that the terminology in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* used for one kind of entry, namely the records of natural deaths of rulers, is not explained in any consistent moral way in the major commentarial traditions, but simply depends on the social position of the ruler.¹² Kennedy concludes that the author was merely "engaged in a serious attempt to record briefly all that he knew about the period 720-480," comparable to somebody who takes great pride "in compiling an accurate railway timetable" (Kennedy, 1942:46, 41). With this claim, Kennedy risks throwing out the baby with the bathwater. However sober the intentions of the historiographer may have been, at the very least he could not avoid the prescriptive undertone of seemingly descriptive language. A neutral description using the term "regicide" is at the same time a political condemnation of the act. One could argue—and rhetoricians have done so—that a categorical distinction between descriptive and evaluative statements ("is" and "ought") does not exist, certainly not in the field of politics or history, and that, therefore, the implicit power of words cannot be avoided (see pp. 156-160). But the author of the *Annals*, I believe, did *not even want* to avoid the implicit power of words. In ancient China the rhetorical power of language was widely appreciated and well understood, much feared and judiciously exploited, particularly in relation to historical records such as the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, not *despite* the moral or political implications of language, but precisely *because* of them.

A Specification of "Regicide" in the Meng zi

This awareness of the power of language to shape reality led to its explicit use in arguments. According to Marcel Granet, Chinese philosophers, when engaging in a discussion, attached far more importance to the art of qualifying terminology than to long chains of reasoning.¹³ Although in the *Meng zi* arguments by renaming are not yet common, the author occasionally uses them when trying to impress someone with this view.¹⁴ One of the most well-known cases concerns again the thorny issue of regicide, raised by King Xuan of Qi (r. 319-301 B.C.):

"Is it the case that Tang banished Jie and King Wu smote Zhou [Xin]?"

"According to the records, it is."

"Is it permissible for a subject to murder (*shi*) his lord?"

Avoiding the troublesome paradox of honoring dynastic founding fathers who committed regicide, Mencius renames some politically crucial types of behavior, thus reevaluating the acts of the two Kings.

One who robs benevolence, call him (*wei zhi* 威之) the outcast Zhou [Xin], not that they murdered (*shi*) a lord. (*Meng zi*, 1B8)

Conclusion: King Wu has not murdered a lord but merely executed an outcast. Hence, this deed ought not to be described and condemned as regicide but should be applauded as rightful execution.

Readers who are trained to spot manifest disagreement in the promotion of opposite values may fail to appreciate the discussion held on the level of how one names something. In Lau's translation, every "*wei zhi*" (call it) has disappeared only to be replaced by the English "is": "A man who mutilates benevolence is a mutilator, while one who cripples rightness is a crippler. He who is both a mutilator and a crippler is an 'outcast'" (Lau, 1984:68).

As shown in the case of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the practice of powerful naming is not confined exclusively to particular

verbs such as "name" (*ming*), "call," or "mean" (*wei*). One can just as well use evaluative terms without these verbs, claiming, as Mencius does in Lau's translation, that one "who mutilates benevolence is a mutilator." But this translation to some extent clouds the crucial link present in the original texts between the Chinese concern *for* and use *of* language. As a corollary, it also induces the "philosophical" reader to expect Mencius to support his argument with an underlying "essence" of what, according to him a mutilator or acrippler fundamentally "is." In short, the failure to appreciate adequately the expressions *suo wei* and *wei zhi* in the Chinese texts and the tendency to replace them in translations by the verb "to be" can be interpreted as a consequence of the victory, at least, until recently, of "philosophy" over "rhetoric" in the mainstream Western tradition (see below).

Xun zi's Argument in Terms of What One Calls "Regicide"

By the end of the Warring States period, philosophical debate had intensified along with political and military conflicts. As a result, several types of argumentation, among them the device of persuading by naming, became increasingly familiar. While Mencius occasionally employs evaluative redefinitions, Xun zi extends the use of this device to defy the claims of rival philosophers, such as, for instance, the charge that Tang and Wu committed regicide. In chapter 18, "Rectifying Theses (*Zheng lun* 正論)," he defends the Confucian heroes by explicitly deploying and analyzing the device of revaluation by re-definition. The second thesis to be rectified is that the last kings of the Xia and Shang truly possessed the empire and that Tang and Wu were merely usurpers (see pp. 203-208). Xun zi's argument starts by reconsidering what exactly one means (*wei*) by the terms involved:

If [this claim] means that Jie and Zhou [Xin] had hold of the throne,¹⁵ then yes. But if it means that they personally possessed the empire, then no. If the empire is said to be that which resides with Jie and Zhou [Xin], then no.

Anyone with a more sophisticated understanding of rulership than merely considering it the inheritance of the population registers, is supposed to agree with Xun zi that Jie and Zhou Xin did not really possess the empire.

In antiquity the Son of Heaven had a thousand offices. . . . Using these thousand offices to have one's orders executed in all the states of Xia is what it means to "reign" (*wang*) . .

But the wicked tyrants were so untalented and dissolute that nobody executed their orders and vassals openly attacked them. The empire could not be stolen from them simply because, according to Xun zi's understanding of the term *wang*, they did not possess it. Assuming that the empire had no lord and that a talented vassal would present himself as a candidate, everybody would be willing to make him lord and leader. Should he execute the isolated and extravagant tyrant, he definitely would not be accused of regicide because, so the argument continues, "the execution of a lord who tyrannizes his state is like executing an outcast. In such circumstances it is proper to speak of his being 'able to wield the empire,' which is precisely what it means to 'reign.'"

This is what happened to Tang and Wu: the result was that the empire spontaneously turned to them.

"The empire turning to him" is what it means to "reign." "The empire rejecting him" is what it means to "perish." Thus, that Jie and Zhou [Xin] did not possess the empire and that Tang and Wu did not murder (*shi*) their lords is demonstrated from this. (*Xun zi*, 18:65/10-22, tr. Knoblock, 1994:34-35)

Xun zi's legitimization of Tang's and Wu's acts asserts that their success indicates their moral superiority and, consequently, their popular support. But for present purposes the shape of the argument is more interesting than its content.

Specifications of how one names and thus evaluates the political situation are profusely used in the *Xun zi*. At no point does Xun zi appeal to the existence of a higher principle on the basis of which regicide would be permissible. For those who have a superficial view and understanding of political reality, regicide may have happened; but for those who are able to follow the author in naming—and thus shaping—the world in a more subtle and effective manner, Tang and Wu remain the blameless heroes of the Chinese tradition.

Regicide is a useful term for illustrating the rhetorical power inherent in language. More so than politically neutral words such as

tree or *table*, it entails a meaning and judgment that can scarcely be denied. Describing an act as "regicide" inevitably prompts its condemnation, if not morally, then at least politically or juridically, according to the laws of the society in which the event is named as such. These four passages from the classical corpus indicate the broadness of the term *rhetoric*, even when restricted to its morally or politically constructive sense, as it was in the previous chapter. They illustrate the power of names as they function with varying degrees of explicitness: only implied in the *Spring and Autumn* chronicle, more consciously exploited in the *Grand Oath*, explicitly brought forward by Mencius in a conversation with King Xuan, and clearly analyzed by Xun zi in a philosophical debate.¹⁶

7.2. Redefinitions as Arguments

The *Pheasant Cap Master* abounds with redefinitions and linguistic stipulations, many of which belong to the rhetorical tradition as outlined above, although the author never exploits the device as consciously as does Xun zi in the case of "regicide." In order to illustrate the rhetorical nature of the *Pheasant Cap Master* rather than to irrefutably demonstrate it, I will first focus on the author's redefinitions in terms of how to call (*wei*) or name (*ming*) things, because these passages constitute the most exemplary cases of the judicious use of words. Often this also counts for explicit stipulations of what something refers to in the formula: "A B *ye* 也" Even this expression, though often translated with the verb "to be" as in "A is B," does not suggest the existence of a shared essence. Rather, it ought to be read as a much broader association, such as, for instance, A refers to, corresponds with, is caused by, or ought to be considered B.

Generally speaking, "philosophical" texts attempt to objectively reveal the hidden structure behind reality in terms of values, laws, or principles. Definitions, then, serve as reflections of essences behind the variety of concrete things. Either they are stipulated in the introduction as the foundation on which the argument will be constructed, or they are part of the main argument claiming what the discussed matter *essentially* is, as, for example, the terms *life* or *human being* in abortion issues. In both cases, the definition is meant to do away with the inherent ambiguity of language by

providing one, neutral, fundamental, and universal meaning. Considering the variety of different and even opposing definitions and specifications scattered throughout the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the author fails to provide such clarity. But rather than reconstructing its "philosophical" content by clearing up its many ambiguities, the following discussion will focus on this alternative mode of argumentation and the use of redefinitions as a privileged avenue to the rhetorical use of language.

The Central Position of Redefinitions

The definitions that occur in modern philosophical treatises are often given on their periphery—in the introduction, the glossary, or the footnotes, where the author stipulates the terms on which the argument of the main body will be founded. A philosopher is expected to stipulate what he means by such expressions as "natural law" and "laws of nature" before attributing them to a certain ancient Chinese text. But, in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, definitions occur throughout the work—in the beginning, the middle, and even at the end of a given passage, constituting its final conclusion. Although they may occasionally provide the basis on which other statements can be understood, they never merely constitute a preliminary stipulated foundation on which the arguments are constructed. Often, the stipulation of terms form the very focus of the argument, the point which the author wants to get across.

One of the major topics of the *Pheasant Cap Master* is *tian* (heaven). Many passages referring to this topic could scarcely be understood by people who think of *tian* as simply the blue sky:

The roots start out from the One Man. Therefore, we call him "heaven." (6:28/3)

Or

No one is able to govern who does not heaven (*bu tian* 不天). (4:14/6) ¹⁷

In order to open up the minds of his readers to his insights, Pheasant Cap Master sometimes emphatically redefines a term in opposi-

tion to existing vulgar understandings: "What we call 'heaven,' it is not this blue air that we call 'heaven.' . . . What we call 'heaven,' means that which makes things as they are and has none prevailing over it" (8:40/9-41/1, tr. Graham, 1989.H:512). ¹⁸ The following definition also describes *tian* as prevailing over everything: "What we call 'heaven,' is it not that which prevails without any check and what the myriad things are submissive to by the superiority of the sun's positional advantage?" (17:111/5). This redefinition occurs after a discussion on using heaven to prevail in war. *Tian* prevails by checking all of the myriad things, without itself ever being checked. Such definitions help one understand other statements concerning *tian*, but they do not function as some basic and neutral stipulation of the crucial terminology to be used in the main argument. Apart from the fact that no such structured main arguments follow in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, one can hardly imagine this definition of *tian* as a neutral stipulation of term to be found in the introduction of a present-day philosophical treatise on nature. The argument, on the contrary, is constituted by this powerful stipulation. To invert the relationship and claim that statements related to these redefinitions are merely the periphery of He guan zi's central argument, which is what to call "heaven," would also be going too far. Redefinitions as well as other statements concerning *tian* provide the reader with advice. The definitions only add a particular conciseness and vigor to the argument.

Because Pheasant Cap Master repeatedly distances himself from the plain literal meanings of terms, his redefinitions are often formulated in a negative way. A crucial cluster of terms around *tian* is connected to the senses and their possible obstruction: "To see the sun and moon, doesn't make one 'clear-sighted' (*ming* 明)" (8:42/8-9, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:105).

The term *ming* relates to both the subjective and objective dimension of a situation, where in English it would be translated differently: on the one hand, *ming* is the eye's "clear-sightedness," and, on the other, it is the object's "brightness," which allows it to be seen:

Sun and moon are not enough to speak of "illuminated" (*ming*). The four seasons are not enough to speak of achievement. (5:21/6)

What we call "covered" (*bi* 蔽), how could it just mean "shielded by a curtain" or "hidden by a drapery"? When all around one doesn't see it, this is what we call "covered"! (17:106/5-6)

Negative definitions cannot serve as neutral stipulations because they fail to provide any positive information, but they do carry rhetorical force, as with the use of *tian* above. He guan zi's repeated specifications of terminology concerning the "obstruction" or "covering" of one's "clear-sightedness" indicate a lively interest in this topic. In order to understand this interest, we turn to the alternative understandings of the terms proposed by the author.

The Contextual Nature of Redefinitions

He guan zi's definitions are not only rhetorical in the sense that they make their own point rather than only serving as the foundation for reasoned arguments, they also carry with them an evaluation of the situation. Pheasant Cap Master uses his terms in very specific senses that are a long way from being literal language. The author does not claim to have a "view from nowhere." He is, on the contrary, convinced that his understanding of crucial terms such as *tian* and *ming* is a most effective instrument in shaping the political scene.

Having heard his master claim that his legendary hero, Cheng Jiu, "heavened," Pang zi asks, "What do you call 'to heaven' (*he wei tian* 何謂天)?" Pheasant Cap Master explains:

Heaven is reliable, its sun refers to power/accretion: the sun is reliable in rising and setting, in the south and north it has its extremes. Hence nobody does not take it as the standard. Heaven is trustworthy, its moon refers to punishment/excision: the moon is trustworthy in waxing and waning, at every end there is a beginning. Hence nobody does not take it as his policy. Heaven is illumined, the stars refer to its tests: the stars, in a row and without getting confused, each proceeds according to its sequence. Hence small and big, none does not take them as a clear sign.¹⁹ Heaven is adapting, the seasons refer to its norms: by fitting their names, the four seasons do not interrupt [each other] in their follow-up. Hence nobody does not take them as being necessarily so. Heaven is One, the

standard its equality: front, back, left and right, in the past as the present, it is like itself. That's why nobody does not take it as constancy. Heaven is reliable, trustworthy, illumined, adapting and One. . . . Because Cheng Jiu got the One, nobody was not respectfully regulated by him. (9:49/2-50/5, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:136-40)²⁰

He guan zi's terminology describing the senses is also colored by political concerns:

When preeminent knowledge²¹ lacks the way, one disorders the heavenly figures above, destroys the earthly pattern below and disrupts human harmony in the middle. . . . Therefore, listening, he doesn't hear; looking, he doesn't see; it is dark in the bright of day. While there is dutifulness, posthumous titles are not assigned. With the posthumous titles not being assigned, there is confusion (*huo* 惑). (8:41/7-10, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:99-101)

Obviously, the author is not claiming that the ruler has turned deaf and blind in a literal sense. Other passages therefore provide explanations for how he is using the words.

To peer without gnomon and decide without standard (*fa*), it is surely confusion to which this adheres! What is called "confusion" is not the absence of the illumination (*ming*) of sun and moon, nor of the order of the four seasons, nor of the course of the constellations. One goes toward confusion by relying on the contrary of those. (17:107/6-8)²²

In a political context, confusion is not merely the absence of heavenly illumination but acting against it. The claim, quoted earlier, that "the sun and moon are not enough to speak of *ming*," makes a similar point:

The One (*yi*) acts as their standard (*fa*), and thereby completes their enterprises. Hence, nothing does not proceed on the way (*mo bu dao* 莫不道). Once the standard of the One is set up, the myriad things all come as dependents. (5:21/7-8, tr. Graham, 1989.H:517)

Clear-sightedness and illumination—the two sides of *ming*—do not merely consist in seeing nature clearly or in nature's own clarity. Only when fully understood are sun and moon possible models for a ruler to imitate. The real model, and the cause of their illumination, is the unique polar axis on which the celestial firmament—sun, moon, seasons, and the constellations—is spontaneously regulated.

Pheasant Cap Master does not deny that these same terms in different contexts may have other meanings. But in the context of his text, where the author is concerned with political stability, he explicitly dissociates himself from such politically irrelevant uses of the terms.

In bygone days, a selection for government which had the way, was not done by the ears and the eyes. What counts for the ears is to listen (*ting* 聽) the ears, you don't hear thunder peals and rolls. But of anyone going wrong when the way was opened up, I haven't yet heard. (4:16/1-4)

Ming has a large range of meanings from plain eyesight and visibility to more sophisticated types of insight and clarity. If the ruler were to understand *ming* straightforwardly, as it is associated with the senses, he would not get far: in politics, true penetrating vision and visibility lie with the way as it is spontaneously and powerfully regulated by the One. Political success therefore depends on the One Man. With clear insight into the situation around him, he is always informed about what is happening in the farthest corners of the empire. Once his unobstructed perspicacity (*ming*) is known, he is able to attract people from all over the empire and, in turn, to shine like a bright (*ming*) polar star. As a consequence, the world revolves around him without him doing anything in particular for it.

In his redefinition of some of these crucial terms, Pheasant Cap Master explicitly dissociates himself from literal and unfreighted understandings of the terms, which would be ineffective in a political context. Redefinitions are meant to provide the key to political success. Although in this sense they are not value-neutral, Pheasant Cap Master is convinced that his understanding of the terms is unbiased when compared to the terminology that operates implicitly

at the court of most rulers. The *neutrality* promoted by the *Pheasant Cap Master* is *colored* in the sense that it belongs to a very specific political context. But it is really open to doubt as to whether any other "true neutrality" in fact exists.

The Particular Source of Redefinitions

Pheasant Cap Master's own understanding of crucial terms and his plea for neutrality are contextual in a second sense. Moving through the interrelated chain of redefinitions of "clear-sightedness," "confusion," and "covering," one gets an idea of the particular concerns that gave rise to them. In his promotion of a political system with a detailed division of responsibility and punishment, Pheasant Cap Master points out what *bi ming* (covered clear-sightedness) means: "The good not being renowned, call this: 'covered clear-sightedness'" (9:53/10, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:160).

Apart from one rather complex passage to which we will turn later (5:20/4-7), the author never explicitly redefines *ming* in a positive sense, stating what it actually is rather than what it is not. We know his worries about the fact that "when petty persons serve their lord, they work at covering (*bi*) his clear-sightedness (*ming*) and blocking (*se*) his listening (*ting*)" (6:32/6-7). He repeatedly insists that "if the ruler's knowledge is not clear-sighted, he takes the nobles as the way and his own ideas as the law" (7:37/10); that the illumined ruler (*ming zhu*), on the contrary, "hurries to seek men" to order his realm (6:26/2-6); that the sagely king does not allow "jealous persons to catch attention and shine (*ming*)" (4:8/2); that "a lord with the way, puts talented geniuses in charge, so that whenever he moves, it is illumined (*ming*) and white" (6:31/5-6); and that the former kings respectfully summoned teachers to help them "reach out from the dark and open up to illumination (*ming*)" (17:109/9-110/1). We also saw that the author advises his ruler to free himself from the web of family ties and aristocratic power relations by giving high rewards to those who advance persons of worth, so that his subjects would not "cover" each other (*xiang bi* 不蔽之功) (see pp. 119-120) (6:27/8-10).

I would interpret in similar terms the intriguing passage in chapter 5, "Circular Flow" (*Huan liu* 環流), which stipulates the interrelated terms *ming*, *fa* (standard/law), and *shen* (spirit/ intuition):

Fa residing here, is called "near"; going out to transform there, it is called "far." From near it reaches far: hence it is called "*shen*"; from far it turns back: hence it is called "*ming*." When *ming* is here, its light shines there; its affairs get shaped here, its achievements completed there. (5:20/4-7, tr. Graham, 1989.H:515)

The passage concludes that *fa* is generated by the sage. *Shen*, homophonous with *shen* 伸 (to stretch out), refers to influence, often strong and imperceptible, which extends from the center outward. *Ming*, then, is the insight that the ruler gets back from his sphere of influence. But if the ruler allows his view to be "obstructed" and new talent to be "covered"—the two sides of *bi*—his fate is sealed: "How sad, this covered, blindfolded, separated and blocked man: he collapses before being defeated, gets captured before being dead" (17:109/3-4). ²³ This was the deplorable situation described in chapter 7, "Surpassed from Nearby" (*Jin die*), where an army is over-taken by its enemy before the brakes on the wheels are even released.

The author's understanding of *ming* as the unbiased selection and attraction of talented men to the court is colored by the concerns of a particular social group. It is therefore not surprising that the treatises attributed to the Masters tend to agree on this very specific redefinition. For Shen Buhai, "to see independently is called *ming*; to hear independently is called *cong*. Who is able to decide independently can become the ruler of all-under-heaven" (*Shen Buhai*, 19, tr. Creel, 1974:380). Power is not overthrown by climbing over walls and battering down doors, he claims, but by "covering the lord's clear-sightedness and stopping the lord's listening (*ting*)" (*Shen Buhai*, 1.2, tr. Creel, 1974:344). Xun zi puts it in a positive way by quoting a traditional saying, nowadays unattested: "To recognize the worthy, is what we call *ming*." (*Xun zi*, 21:79/20, tr. Knoblock, 1994:102).

The reason that ancient Chinese philosophy presents mainly political definitions of *ming* must have to do with the concerns of those writing "philosophy" during this period, the voice of the eternal opposition (see pp. 107-110, 134). What is ultimately at stake is to convince the ruler of the importance of an unobstructed view into the smallest details of his political network, of a careful selection of capable and worthy men for that purpose, and, most importantly, of the danger of relying on one source of information or one extremely powerful person in the court: a wife, a concubine, a noble, a minister, or a eunuch. The authors of these texts wanted, from their positions as minister or adviser to the ruler—mainly fictional—to contribute to the political stability of the state and, more importantly, to the safety of honest advisers who were unable to shine because of political obstruction.²⁴ He guan zi's plea for an unbiased attitude is itself clearly biased, but no more so than a plea for human rights by humans, for the protection of children by parents, and for animal rights by animal lovers. The ideal of some neutral definition colored by no concerns whatsoever, if not impossible, seems at least meaningless in the ancient Chinese philosophical project.²⁵

The Plurality of Redefinitions

A further indication of the central position of naming in the *Pheasant Cap Master* is that the author proffers several different definitions of one and the same term. Instead of insisting upon a single definition as the verbal mirror of some essence, every definition makes its own point in a particular context. Another term that, like clear-sightedness and heaven, is often the object of redefinitions and specifications is *ren* ("human being" or "man" in the gender-neutral sense). The meanings attributed to *ren* cover an exceptionally wide range, from an easy target of political manipulation to the powerful generator of cosmic order. Although strictly speaking there is no theoretical contradiction between these two extreme views, the difference is nevertheless so striking that scholars have found it problematic.²⁶

Several definitions attest to a minimalist view of man: "What we call man, is what hates death and enjoys life" (1:1/10, tr. Graham, 1989.H:521). As Graham remarks, here "man is defined by

the characteristics which make him governable by punishment and rewards" (Graham, 1989.H:521). The same holds true for all the other minimalistic definitions of *ren*. He guan zi's view on "the authentic in man" (*ren qing* 人情) strikes one as being realistic and even cynical: "Growing idle by delaying, in distress from too much haste, and when they see an opening, controlling each other by irregularities,"²⁷ is the authentic in man" (4:12/2-3). In the following statement, the author reacts against the clichéd description of an ideal society in which persons who find lost items do not keep them:²⁸ "To see something that is left behind and not pick it up, is not the authentic in man" (4:16/6). Most reminiscent of a Western-style definition, although still stipulated in terms of fitting a name rather than as reflecting an essence, is He guan zi's claim that "what has the name 'man' shares the authentic in man" (9:63/8-9).

The context of this definition is a conversation between Pang zi and Pheasant Cap Master, in which the former doubts his Master's claim that Cheng Jiu was able to gather all people, Chinese and barbarians alike, into one big family. Pheasant Cap Master explains:

When a tiger or wolf kills a man, raven and eagles²⁹ follow above, earthworms and moths follow below, in order to gather around him. The six of them are of a different kind: how is it then that they all simultaneously go over there? What they desire is the same! If you observe it from this point of view: what has the name "man" shares the authentic in man. (9:63/ 6-9, tr. Graham, 1989.H:520)

However reminiscent of a Western-style definition, even here the definition is used mainly to make a point with respect to a particular policy: realize the people's common goal, provide them with security and ensure their profit (see p. 114).

On other occasions in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, man is given the highest value and considered the very source of cosmic order: "Pang zi asks Pheasant Cap Master: 'As for the way of the sage, what does one put first?' Pheasant Cap Master says: 'Put man first.'" When Pang zi asks why man should be put before the three major cosmic components—heaven, earth, and yin yang—the Master's answer indicates what type of man he has in mind: the sagely

person: "As for the three, if the sage (*sheng ren*) is present, they are ordered; if not, they are disordered. That's the reason to put man first" (7:33/4-34/1, tr. Graham, 1989:215).

In chapter 5, we saw that the definitions of *ming*, *fa*, and *shen* collaborate to define the sage in terms of his relation to standards or laws (*fa*): "One for whom the generation and completion [of the standard] lie in himself, call him 'a sage.'" (5:20/10, tr. Graham, 1989.H:515). Although the term *sheng ren* is not often explicitly defined in the *Pheasant Cap Master*—in other words, the author seldom makes his point by specifying his understanding of this term—the text still contains many discussions and descriptions of the sage and attributes great power to him (see pp. 123-124). The view of man as being an active agent in the cosmic pattern, "extending order from the cycles of Heaven and Earth to human society" (Graham, 1989.H:516), is at least as prevalent in the *Pheasant Cap Master* as is the minimalistic view of man.³⁰

The two views do not necessarily contradict each other: despite his cosmic power, the sage shares what is authentic in man. Like all others, he can be attracted by profit. The ruler therefore has every reason to "settle their profit beforehand, and wait for them to arrive of themselves" (10:70/1). But for He guan zi, the strength of his argument lies, more than in any absence of internal contradiction, in an abundance of definitions applicable in different situations. What the ruler ought to call "man"—and thus consider and treat as such—differs according to various political needs and changing relations. There are, after all, five degrees of men to be assessed and attracted in various manners: those a hundred times worth the ruler—the sage those ten times worth him, those equal to him, servants, and, finally, slaves (1:1/6-7). Because differences in naming imply a different attitude, the author specifies "man" differently in various passages. The ruler's adherence to one definition would indicate inflexibility and poverty of mind, leading in the direction of political disaster.

When dealing with the masses and low officials, it is important for the ruler to have a realistic view of what is authentic in man (*ren qing*). Expecting people not to pick up what they find in the streets is not a realistic policy. Failure by the ruler to adapt policies to the authentic in man is a major cause of the obstruction of orders and information as they move, respectively, downward and upward

on the political scale: "That below he can be opposed, and above screened off,"³¹ is because he is separated from the authentic in man and has deviated from the heavenly segments" (4:12/2-3). But when dealing with a worthy sage, even if he happens to be living in poor circumstances, the ruler ought to give him priority over everything, including heaven, earth, and the seasons.

The four perspectives from which He guan zi's use of redefinitions can be viewed—their position, context, source, and multiplicity—as an alternative approach to the text does not constitute the only possible understanding of its content. One could, in fact, follow the more usual practice of interpreting the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a philosophical book by unambiguously defining its main principles and systematically reconstructing its content on the basis of them. But such an interpretation would jeopardize the opportunity to explore the merits of the author's own style of argumentation.

7.3. Further Instances of the Power of Language

Argumentation by redefinition and by the explicit stipulation of terms is one instance of a rhetorical use of words, and is not strictly distinguishable from other instances of powerful, prescriptive, and persuasive uses of language. The scholarly neglect of such expressions as *suo wei* is therefore only symptomatic of a more fundamental failure to appreciate the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a collection of rhetorical passages, differing fundamentally from a systematic philosophical treatise. This neglect in Western literature is largely due, I believe, to the predominance of "philosophy" over "rhetoric" in this tradition. As a consequence of this longstanding tension, the rhetorical current has traditionally been regarded as the second and inferior partner in an endless number of binary oppositions such as central/peripheral, one/many, clear/colored, unequivocal/ambiguous, eternal/temporary, reason/passion, things/words, reality/illusions, fact/opinion, neutral/partisan, and so forth. These oppositions are closely related to fundamentally different views on and expectations of language. Partisans of the philosophical tradition tend to consider language a mirror: they expect verbal expressions to faithfully reflect matters of fact, uncolored by any personal agenda or

partisan desire. Rhetoricians think of words as knives, which implicitly and explicitly contribute to the shaping of reality. Through a judicious deployment of words, users of language can substitute *res pro re*, as Quintilian has observed. In the absence of any independent reality, "positive rhetoricians" expect the speaker to apply him- or herself carefully and conscientiously to this task, using language in a clear, responsible, and effective manner.

Although this notion of rhetoric is too vague and vast for any exhaustive analysis, even when used in reference to only one ancient Chinese text, an interpretation of the *He guan zi*'s general use of language, consistent with its focus on politically relevant stipulation of terminology, further illustrates the rhetorical character of the text. Rather than appealing to philosophical standards, the *Pheasant Cap Master* can, when viewed from this rhetorical angle, be used to highlight the importance of rhetoric and to challenge the prejudice against it prevailing in the binary oppositions.

A Focus on Political Terms

From a rhetorical point of view, the power of language is hardly unique to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, or any other Chinese text. Considering the cultural, historical, and social burden of all words, especially in a moral or political context, one naturally influences others by merely using or consciously selecting certain words for describing—and *eo ipso* evaluating—a type of behavior or state of affairs. An occupation that was officially called "frontier defense" in Eastern Germany is now both called and treated as "murder"—even retrospectively—by those in power in the reunited country. The "order" restored by the Chinese government on June 4, 1989, was in the Western press called a "massacre." And events that, in the United States, are accepted as "execution" would in other countries be rejected as "murder."³²

Even though power is inherent to all language use, its value and effect can vary substantially in different contexts and cultures. While modern Westerners might try to defend their own use of terms by claiming that they are a neutral reflection of the existing state of affairs, and might attack an opponent's language as being rhetorically biased and colored, for *Pheasant Cap Master*, the color

and context in which words are used provides them with power and efficacy without necessarily depriving them of a kind of neutrality within the particular context.

With the assumption about universal and neutral knowledge successfully driving modern science since the seventeenth century, the possibility of true knowledge in philosophical and moral discussions has often been thought to depend on their success in transferring the ideal circumstances of a science laboratory into the real world, and overcoming such interfering factors as parochial feelings and cultural influences. Cornerstones of knowledge—paradigm cases in epistemology—are words that fit these demands relatively well, such as, for example, *tree* or *table*. Once certain about their truth, so goes the silent hope, certainty may be expanded by extending the same methodology to such morally important but unfortunately ambiguous cases as, for instance, *life* and *murder* in abortion discussions. When clear about the facts, then and only then is the move made to discussions of value, referring to some underlying hierarchy of principles and laws.

In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, however, there is no hint that epistemological certainty should be sought in words such as *tree* and *table*. Such terms belong on the margins as relatively irrelevant naming, not worthy of the attention of a Master, with the possible exception of the Later Mohists. The terms that are usually the subject of redefinition in the *Pheasant Cap Master* generally belong to the realm of politics. Because knowing to persuasively name a person "king" or a statement "mandate" determines what king and mandate will be for those who are literally impressed by the name, such utterances constitute exemplary cases of valuable knowledge. The connotations of language are therefore not regarded by the author as an inevitable weakness, but rather as a welcome rhetorical power.

Apart from such obviously political words as *king* and *mandate*, the meanings of seemingly apolitical terms (at least, for somebody unfamiliar with Chinese philosophy) are also stipulated in a predominantly political fashion: "clear-sightedness" (*ming*), "(hu)man" (*ren*), "acute hearing" (*cong*), "covering" (*bi*), "confusion" (*huo*), "way" (*dao*), "power" (*de*), "one" (*yi*), "heaven" (*tian*), "earth" (*di*) and "arms" (*bing*).³³ Familiar topics in the classical corpus such as "regicide" and "stealing" are not considered fruit fully ambiguous

or sufficiently crucial by the author of the *Pheasant Cap Master* to be explicitly specified in an alternative way.³⁴ The central words to which He guan zi keeps returning with persuasive redefinitions are loaded with his own interest and concern.

From Prescription to Description

When arguing in terms of *suo wei*, Pheasant Cap Master almost always includes himself in the subject, specifying how he together with others who share his subtle insights—calls or does not call something. These claims, consequently, often imply an exhortation on how things or events should or should not be performatively called and, thus, treated. *Suo wei tian*, for instance, not only tells us what Pheasant Cap Master calls "heaven," but also what he believes "heaven" effectively—not essentially—means in a certain political context, and what others in this context, therefore, ought to call and treat as heaven.

When explicitly rejecting the interpretation of a term and distinguishing his own understanding of "heaven," "clear-sightedness," and "covering" from commonsense meanings such as, respectively, the "blue sky," the "brilliance of sun and moon," and "hidden by a drapery" (see pp. 146–147) the author calls attention to his own politically relevant views. To the extent that redefinition is meant as a criticism of rivals or rulers, it is for their failure to understand and appreciate such views. This aside, commonsense and rhetorically weak interpretations are not totally wrong, but merely ineffective in the political context to which the *Pheasant Cap Master* belongs.

Walking along the fields, Pheasant Cap Master may have noticed how blue *tian* was that day; he could have praised a farmer as *ming* for his fine eye for meteorological changes or tiny insects. But such mere descriptions carry little political value. Rather than having a categorical distinction between description and prescription, mirroring facts and values, respectively, the two modes of expression differ relative to one another on a single continuum. The qualitative scale of meanings given to a term extends from the powerfully prescriptive to the trivially descriptive.

Because the rhetorical force of language reaches far beyond the explicit deployment of powerful definitions in terms of *wei* and *ming*,

prescription and advice lie embedded in almost every sentence of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, differing only in the degree of their performative strength. Claims such as "The sagely king has a way to listen to the minute and dispel doubt" (4:7/10) is no mere description. It conveys the political warning that the person who fails to dispel doubt will never become a sagely king, nor does he deserve the name. "An emperor dwells with teachers, a king with friends and a perishing ruler with servants" (1:2/10-3/1) is clearly a prescription for the ruler, rather than a neutral statement concerning the categories of emperors, kings, and perishing rulers. Of course, Pheasant Cap Master advises his lord to dwell with teachers if he wants to become or remain emperor.

Throughout the book, He guan zi's own deployment of terms wavers from politically weak and merely descriptive usages to prescriptively powerful senses. The meanings of *fa* 法, for instance, range from the highest "standard" or "model" for the ruler (5:21/7) to the written "laws" as being the most mundane standards, necessary only for the lowest type of policy (8:48/1-5). ³⁵ *Bing* 兵 is in one instance explicitly defined as "ritual, right, loyalty and reliability" (7:34/3), but often occurs in the basic sense of "army" or "arms." We saw that *ming*, in both of its aspects, has a range of meaning extending from plain eyesight or visibility to much more sophisticated notions of insight or clarity. And *tian*, finally, often occurs as the sky, the upper partner of *di* (earth), the ideal ruler (6:28/3), the model of order in nature (9:49/3-50/2), father of the people (10:73/2), or a punishing power (9:60/10)—all different but not easily distinguishable meanings of the same term.

Where words are expected transparently to mirror a single essence, ambiguity is considered a detriment to understanding. But where discussion centers on how one names something, variety in naming constitutes a real resource for debate. That a name has as many meanings as "meaners" is not an inconvenience to be patiently borne but rather the very battleground for further discussion on the ancient Chinese forum. People in various contexts and driven by different concerns will implicitly use terms differently and, when trying to be persuasive, distinguish them sharply from other meanings. Knowing is a kind of cutting: distinguishing what fits under a name from what does not. From a rhetorical point of view, "the mind is the ability to discriminate and distinguish . . . and thereby to

guide evaluation and action" (Hansen, 1983:31) ³⁶ Rather than claiming the neutral discovery of essential facts or values, Pheasant Cap Master contributes from his own particular position a more effective way of naming to the continuum of meanings.

The Disastrous Power of "Deeming"

While the meanings of terms within the *Pheasant Cap Master* range from mere description to powerful prescription, depending on the context in which they occur, there also exist politically nefarious ways of naming, deeming, and treating reality. These are not the obviously uncultivated and thus innocent interpretations of terms such as "blue sky" for *tian*, but misleading ways of naming that strongly resemble correct usages.

Although in He guan zi's discussion of names, he criticizes the ruler for his careless use of words (see pp. 186-187), he never explicitly accuses him of "calling" (*wei*) something in a politically detrimental manner. Instead, he uses the expression *yi wei* 少人), he wrongly makes them minimal by considering them as such (19:119/9). The grammatical distinctions usually made between the causative and denominative uses of stative verbs—make it X and deem it X—are blurred when reality depends upon how one considers it. Similarly, the expression "*yi X wei Y*" means both "consider X as Y" and "make X into Y."³⁷ Meaning and value within a certain context result from what a powerful person in that context takes things to be because, in a rhetorically powerful sense, the process of naming and deeming determines behavior and policy, and does not merely label things with words.

Chapter 2, "Calling Attention to the Rare" (*Zhu xi*), complains about a ruler bringing disorder to the age:

He takes (*yi*) mediocre knowledge (*wei*) as a great idea; (*yi*) central defilance (*wei*) as the way; (*yi*) profit-seeking (*wei*) as his authentic feelings . . . When advisers mention humaneness, he considers (*yi wei*) it fraud; when they are moved by the

appropriate, he considers (*yi wei*) it bragging; when they fairly and directly report to him, he still doesn't trust them. That is why the person of worth in a disorderly age, cutting off relations, has nowhere to communicate from; differing in kind, has nothing to report. (2:5/2-7) ³⁸

The rhetorical power deployed by the author in his own redefinitions is, in a negative sense, attributed to the bad ruler. By taking profit-seeking as his authentic feelings and by considering advice on humaneness a fraud, this bad ruler actually makes profit important and humaneness fraudulent within the framework of his political regime. Consequently rewarding what according to Pheasant Cap Master deserves punishment, and punishing what needs to be rewarded, this ruler sows terror and hypocrisy throughout his realm.

Hence, men go against their genuine abilities, scholarly knights hide their true feelings. Even if in their hearts they are not pleased, they do not dare not to praise him; even if in service and jobs they do not approve of him, they do not dare not to work hard; even if in his political decisions they do not agree, they do not dare not to follow. (2:5/8-6/2)

The reason that the ruler's disastrous interpretations of events appear so plausible to him, and the author's redefinitions are so important for rescuing the age, is because crucially different attitudes and situations can be misleadingly similar. Where virtues are perceived as corresponding to a given state of affairs such as "the good," and where vices are their direct opposites, morality requires a clear reflection of this state of affairs before one can throw oneself with all one's vigor into its pursuit (see pp. 196-197). But when vices are seen as dangerously similar to virtues, morality relies on the ability to make subtle distinctions before carefully proceeding on the right track.³⁹

Pheasant Cap Master is far more concerned with the latter situation, that is, with vices disguised as virtues, rather than with clearly exposed shortcomings; with unreliable advisers, rather than with obvious enemies; with the appearance of political strength, rather than with acknowledged weakness. He warns the ineffective

lord of chapter 2 that temporary security does not mean stability (2:4/3), and he criticizes hereditary rulers for "dwelling in insecurity" and "absurdly taking it for security" (13:92/1-3).

The crucial task of the adviser is therefore to increase the ruler's clear-sightedness by helping him to see—and thus to make subtle distinctions in the political arena. In chapter 6, "Starting-point of the Way" (*Dao duan*), Pheasant Cap Master provides the central figure with detailed criteria for selecting and evaluating his ministers. To distinguish the gentleman from ordinary people takes a penetrating insight, which Pheasant Cap Master tries to convey in chapter 2:

The gentleman may be easy to get along with, but is difficult to act familiar with; he may fear disasters, but does not easily back off; he may be fond of profit, but won't do what is wrong; he may act according to the time, but doesn't start anything out of expedience. (2:4/8-9)

In all four cases, the distinctions between gentleman and ordinary person are subtle and may elude someone with a less acute insight into the human character. But the most important distinction that rulers fail to make, He guan zi repeatedly complains, is between a worthy and an ordinary man, when both are unemployed and in dire straits.

The use of language in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, beyond the explicit stipulation of terms, ranges widely from powerful prescription, to mere description, to dangerous misinterpretation. Where culturally loaded terms are standards of true knowledge, prescription differs from description only relatively, ambiguity is accepted as a resource for further debate, and the conventional binary oppositions are reversed: valuable opinions dominate mere facts, plurality prevails over uniformity, words shape things, illusions create reality, color brings clarity, and ambiguity means abundance.

Confronted with the fragmented modes of expression through which the *Pheasant Cap Master* has reached us, the most common treatment of its content is to reconstruct a relatively coherent view by selecting its apparently most authentic, meaningful, and relevant fragments. A first step is then to unambiguously define each main

concept on the basis of its various redefinitions and other statements about it. This approach certainly has its merits, as it provides the author's ideas with a much clearer and more efficient mode of transportation than they originally had—at least when traveling to a modern mind. But the author made his point in a rhetorically different manner, with an abundance of short passages and various redefinitions, providing his readers with a rich spectrum of politically and morally loaded insights into crucial terms in a variety of different situations. By highlighting the "rhetorical" point of view, this chapter has approached the *Pheasant Cap Master* from an alternative angle and has cast doubts on such common assumptions as the clear separation between content and form, philosophical goods and their modes of transportation.

Chapter 8

Political Views on Language

A committed interest in language or *ming*—words, names, fame, terms, titles—runs through the whole ancient Chinese corpus of texts attributed to the Masters, the *Pheasant Cap Master* included. Attention to and views on language increase along with the ever more explicit deployment of redefinitions as a device of persuasion. Despite the power of Confucius's words and ways of naming, in the *Analects* (*Lun yu*) explicit redefinitions using the expression *suo wei* are absent, and discussion of language is scarce. The device of reevaluation by redefinition becomes fully analyzed and exploited in the *Xun zi*, as we saw in the case of "regicide" (see pp. 142-144). Chapter 22 of the same work, "Correctly Using Names" (*Zheng ming* 正名), contains one of the most elaborate discussions of language in the classical corpus, evidencing a heightened awareness of its both constructive and pernicious force. Xun zi's insight into the rhetorical force of his words must be closely related to his concern for language. On both counts—in its use of language and in its insight into the power of words—the *Pheasant Cap Master* wavers between the *Analects* and the *Xun zi*. The author is more conscious than is Confucius of the force of words, but he lacks Xun zi's keenness in analyzing it.

The gradual discovery of the implicit power in the use of words may have caused a stir among late Warring States authors, leading them to explicitly and positively exploit this power in redefinitions. But their concern with the ruler's deficient way of evaluating talents and interpreting situations was a stronger motivation for reflecting

on the nature of language in its fullest sense: the naming, evaluating, treating, and shaping of a world. Interest in language was not in the first place purely linguistic or epistemological, nor was it even strictly rhetorical, but it was directly related to political and social order. While the increased awareness of the force of language could have led to the study of rhetoric as an art, political insights and frustrations instead gave rise to the world's earliest form of political science. ¹ Rather than "an examination of one's verbal persuasiveness," as rhetoric in the strict sense was defined by Aristotle, the authors present their suggestions concerning language as a means to successful government.²

Explicit suggestions concerning language in the classical corpus thus focus mainly on the question of ensuring political stability with names. The insight that a ruler's success in dealing with his state relies on his capacity to deal with terminology dawns in the *Analepts*, is exploited in so-called Legalist writings ascribed to Shang Yang, Han fei, and Shen Buhai, and is put in doubt by parts of the *Zhuang zi* and *Lao zi*. A fascination with terminology for its own sake, as in the Later Mohist writings and some *Zhuang zi* passages, is an offshoot of this political concern, never wandering far from its roots.³

8.1. Discussions about Names

The highest concentration of political insights into the power of words in the classical corpus is to be found around such topics as *zheng ming* (correctly using names) and *xing ming* (shape and name). Although each expression appears only once in the *Pheasant Cap Master*,⁴ the author's deep concern with names is consistent with this tradition.

Paradiastole and the Power of Language

The threat caused by *paradiastole* or the "art of redefinition" was provocative in the sense that it was mostly used by rhetoricians and viewed by philosophers as a relativistic device, putting traditional evaluations in doubt and thus destabilizing society. While the *Ars*

retorica thrived on this kind of provocation, concentrating on powerful redefinitions as its means of persuasion, there was also a strong "philosophical" reaction against it. Those who took a stand against rhetoric experienced the deployment of rhetorical redefinitions, particularly in Renaissance political theories, as a deeply unsettling threat. "This anxiety was as old as the art of rhetoric itself," Skinner remarks; "the historians and moralists of ancient Rome had viewed the technique with unmixed hostility.... But similar anxieties had already been voiced at an even earlier date.... With the revival of the *Ars rhetorica* in the Renaissance, these ancient fears about the danger of *paradiastole* burst forth with renewed vehemence" (Skinner, 1991:29). A number of seventeenth-century moralists and philosophers therefore undertook a crusade against "the fatal imposture and force of words," inveighing furiously against "verbal magic" (Skinner, 1991:38-39). Their anxiety indicates a recognition of the rhetorical force of language and a firm rejection of its philosophical limitation: what was seen by some as a strength in shaping a world was considered by others an obstruction to neutrally mirroring reality.

In contrast with this concentration of philosophical reflection on the morally and politically disastrous effects of language in the seventeenth-century West, in third-century B.C. China, there was a high degree of predominantly positive attention to names. The recurrent discussions of *ming* among the Masters attest to their importance. Because one's choice of words directly bears on the "way" in which one orders one's person, family, or state three concentric spheres of influence—any discussion of *ming* is closely related to *dao*, the focal kernel of philosophical reflection. The Chinese recourse to language as a solution for social instability is consistent with the abundance of politically constructive redefinitions and, more generally, with the performative deployment of rich terminology found throughout the classical Chinese corpus. But there is a change of focus: while in the previous chapter, the central importance of redefinitions expressed with *suo wei* and the rhetorical use of language in the Chinese corpus was compared with the rhetorical practice of *paradiastole* on the margins of Western philosophy, in this chapter the positive attention devoted to political names in China can be effectively contrasted with the negative view of language in the anti-rhetorical camp of the Western "quarrel."

Aside from an enormous distance in time and the different positions held within their respective traditions, the Chinese and Western views on language were moved by similar concerns: the stability of moral and political names. While seventeenth-century Western philosophers appealed to a reality independent of language in order to domesticate the magic of words (see pp. 196-197), the Chinese hope lay in the positive and stabilizing force of names themselves. Masters attempted to control the ruler's use of crucial terminology by advancing various norms for naming, ranging from recommending certain criteria in the deployment of language to explicitly promoting strict standards. How successful they were is difficult to assess, but this at least is the context in which He guan zi's reflections on the political influence of language are framed.

Discussion of "the Correct Use of Names"

In politics, much depends on how one names. This insight, formulated in terms of *zheng ming*, first occurs in the *Analects* and is therefore attributed to Confucius. Few scholars, if any, would question the importance of *zheng ming* for Confucians, although there is little agreement about the interpretation of the term.⁵ Clearly, if Confucius wanted names or titles to be (in different translations) "correctly used," "rectified," "ordered," or "attuned," he must have held to a particular criterion—however vague and intuitive perhaps—to which he wanted to see them adapted. An understanding of this criterion and the mode of adaptation determines one's interpretation of the *zheng ming* idea.

Zheng ming occurs only once in the *Analects*, in a conversation which is often cited but remains difficult to interpret:

Zilu said: "If the lord of Wei entrusted the government (*zheng 政*) to you, what would you do first?"

"Correctly use names (*zheng ming*), surely!," the Master said.

"How far can you stray from the point! What would that correct?"

"Zilu, you are a boor. On matters of which he is ignorant, a gentleman expresses no opinion. If names are incorrectly used

(*ming bu zheng* 不順). If saying does not flow smoothly (*bu shun*), tasks don't get completed. If tasks don't get completed, ceremony and music remain inert. If ceremony and music remain inert, punishment is misapplied. If punishment is misapplied, the people have nowhere to put hand or foot." (*Lun yu*, 13.3, tr. Hansen, 1992:62)

Judging from this answer, *zheng ming* is a necessary condition for juridical certainty and, consequently, for social stability. Although the importance of orderly names (*zheng ming*) for political order (*zheng*) is emphasized, the train of thought here is far from clear, leading one through reflections on naming and speech, via various tasks, to ceremony and music, and finally to punishments. Nowhere does the Master explicitly state the norm for ordering names, except perhaps in the enigmatic expression *bu shun*. Saying that is *bu shun* obstructs the path from names to tasks.

In older translations of the passage, the interpretation of this expression seems to have posed no problem: "What is said does not concord with *what is meant*" (Waley, 1938:171, my italics) and "language is not in accordance with *the truth of things*" (Legge, 1971a:263-164, my italics). The reality with which "saying" has to accord, however, does not lie in Confucius's answer but is provided through the interpretation. Recent translations are somewhat less clear and certainly more cautious: "one's words will not be in accord [with one's actions]" (Schwartz, 1985:92, his brackets), "what is said is not attuned" (Hall and Ames, 1987:269), "*discours incohérent*" (Reding, 1985:248), "what is said does not sound reasonable" (Lau, 1988:118), and "saying is out of accord" (Graham, 1989:24).⁶ The need for speech to accord or correspond with something in order for it to be valuable and effective is clearly stated in the oldest translations, but only tentatively suggested in recent studies. Must speech correspond to one's actions, reason, reality *an sich*, common sense, tradition, words, promises, deeds, or general behavior?

Because Confucius does not explicitly state what makes a name "*zheng*" and saying "*shun*," scholars have, in their search for a norm, appealed to a second passage in the *Analects*, where *zheng ming* seems to be the subject of discussion without being explicitly referenced:

Duke Jing of Qi asked Confucius about government (*zheng*). Confucius replied: "Rulers rule, ministers administer, fathers 'father' and sons 'son'." "Excellent!" said the duke. "Indeed, if the ruler does not rule and ministers do not administer, if fathers do not 'father' and sons do not 'son', even if there is grain, would I get to eat it?" (*Lun yu*, 12.11, tr. Graham, 1989:25)

This passage indicates clearly that the focus of *zheng ming* lies with social and political terms. The key to a well-functioning society is that everybody behaves as prescribed by the name or title of his position in the social matrix. But although this passage may refer to the positive results of *zheng ming*, it does not explain how, by merely correctly using or ordering names, one is able to make others behave in such a way. The crucial question, moreover, remains unsolved: what norm needs be applied to consider a name ordered or correctly used?

The connection between correctly using names and a smoothly functioning society in which rulers rule and ministers administer so that the duke gets to eat his grain, may be found in the positive description of the gentleman, which concludes Confucius's only explicit recommendation to *zheng ming* in the *Analects*:

Therefore, when a gentleman names it, it is sure to be sayable (*ke yan* 可 言), and when he says it, it is sure to be performable. It is simply that the gentleman is never haphazard in what he says. (*Lun yu*, 13.3, tr. Graham, 1989:24)

But what is so exceptional and "gentlemanly" about the fact that what the gentleman names "is sure to be sayable" or, in D. C. Lau's translation, that "the name is sure to be usable in speech" (Lau, 1988:118)? Apparently, the path between names and performance needs to be paved with a smooth and effective use of language. Again, the Master does not explicitly demand correspondence with some extralinguistic reality. Most current translations and interpretations nonetheless continue to explain these several passages and the theory of *zheng ming* in general in terms of a correspondence between language and reality.⁷

One group of interpretations takes the expression at face value and argues that language or names (*ming*) ought to perfectly corre-

spond with and thus be corrected (*zheng*) according to reality as such. Exponents of this view are Arthur Waley, Derk Bodde, Joseph Needham, and Chinese contemporaries of Marcel Granet ("when they express themselves in English," he adds) (Granet, 1988:366).⁸ The "language crisis," situated by Arthur Waley in the late fourth and third centuries B.C., was "a burning question of the day," resulting, according to him, from the "rift between language and actuality" in ancient China. As "words can be regarded as labels of particular objects," according to Waley, the correspondence between language and reality was gradually disrupted by the increasing ambiguity of terms, caused by the Chinese habit of using loan-characters (Waley, 1958:61). Because Waley does not acknowledge this concern for correspondence in the *Analects*, he doubts the authenticity of the cited passages and believes that they were later interpolations (Waley, 1938:22).⁹

Waley has correctly noticed the absence of any concern with a perfect parallelism between reality and language in the *Analects*. But we could ask whether his doubts about the authenticity of the particular passages should not be replaced by doubts about his interpretation of *zheng ming*. What could the "language-reforming movement" mean in relation to this passage? Should language degenerate along with reality in order to preserve a perfect parallelism? That is, should the name *ruler* disappear as soon as there are no longer any true rulers, and be replaced by *crippler* if the person on the throne cripples humanity? Such a pure but powerless mirroring relationship does not seem to be what Confucius—or any later author for that matter—had in mind as a solution for political disorder. Admitting that this was not the case, it remains to ask how the adaptation of language to reality could alone cure all the various kinds of social diseases. "If it was originally only a matter of avoiding verbal confusion and incorrect qualification, one does not see how one could hope, merely by distributing names, to introduce order among men," observes Granet.¹⁰

The conviction that the target of *zheng ming* is political-social reality rather than language has led to a group of opposite interpretations: "There is only one way to correct the name: the one who carries the name must conform to the norm which the name expresses." This amounts to claiming that "Confucius talks about 'correction of names' where it is actually a matter of correcting

reality" (Reding, 1985:251). ¹¹ In other words, Confucius said "correct names" but meant "correct reality *according* to names." Although seldom stated as clearly as by Jean-Paul Reding, this interpretation is by far the most pervasive. Fung Yu-lan advances one of its most representative versions: "Confucius believed that under these circumstances the only way to restore order would be so to *arrange affairs* so that the Emperor would continue to be Emperor, the nobles to be nobles, the ministers to be ministers, and the common people common people. That is, *the actual must in each case be made to correspond to the name*. This theory Confucius called the Rectification of Names" (Fung, 1973:59, my italics).¹²

While in the previous group of interpretations, the norm for naming was reality as such, Fung Yu-lan, on the contrary, explains *zheng ming* as a correction of reality *according to* names. Despite this reversal, he nevertheless keeps insisting on the correction *of names*: "It was because the actualities of things no longer corresponded to their names, Confucius believed, that the world was suffering from disorder, and *therefore the names must be rectified*" (Fung, 1973:60, my italics). This apparent contradiction is easily dismissed by an appeal to the familiar dichotomy between descriptive and prescriptive language. Fung points to the difference between the word *ruler* as a reflection of the "material actuality" versus "the name and concept of the ideal ruler." By "name," he does not mean the word as it functions in spoken language, but rather a label standing for the definition of an essence: "[T]he name is that thing's essence or concept" (Fung, 1973:60).

While Fung does not explicitly elaborate on this step in the argument—other exponents of this interpretation will that do more clearly¹³—his insistence on the correction *of names* in order to correct reality lies with the fact that ordinary names need to be corrected according to true essences. Although apparently arguing for the opposite of, literally, the "correction of names," namely the "correction of reality according to names," this second group of interpreters also resorts to the correction of language according to reality: not the descriptively visible reality as in the first case, but its underlying prescriptive order. The advantage of this interpretation, as opposed to the previous one, is that it explains the prescriptive power of names, putatively carried from the realm of essential values to the domain of fallible language users. Its disadvantage,

however, is the absence in the *Analects* of a single reference to such entities or definitions. On the contrary, the more important a term, such as, for instance, *ren* (humane) or *jun zi* (lord's son/gentleman), the more abundant are Confucius's stipulations. This variety, the recurring appeal to different concrete exemplary figures from the past, combined with the Master's self-professed flexibility,¹⁴ does not suggest that the mind of Confucius strove after but failed to grasp the univocal definitions of names.

Without a doubt, Confucius expected a gentleman's speech to accord with "what he meant," "the truth of things," previous statements, deeds, or promises, and certainly also with tradition.¹⁵ But none of these norms was exclusively given priority in the discussion of *zheng ming*. Confucius's concern lies with language itself, which efficiently generates order and harmony by relying on all these norms and, most importantly, on an appropriate compromise among them. I have therefore translated *zheng ming* as the "correct use of names," thus weakening the stress on correspondence inherent in the translation "correcting names (according to...)." There are instances in daily life attesting to the power of words without suggesting a correspondence with any given reality. If, confused by sorrow and nerves, one "congratulates" instead of "condoles" the widow of a deceased friend, saying is not smooth (*bu shun*); or if one is uncertain whether to call one's former professor by his first name or by his title, saying is hesitant (*bu shun*). While honesty, personal cultivation, and a clear view of the facts may all contribute to smooth and efficient speech, the focus is on the performative force of language itself and its power to shape the world.

An interpretation of *zheng ming* that gives appropriate weight to the performative function of language does not necessarily portray Confucius in a different light. But it attributes to the Master an insight into the rhetorical power of language that is consistent with the way it is exploited in the Chinese corpus (see pp. 135-144). Such an understanding also avoids ascribing to the passage on *zheng ming* a dualism that is only added in the translation. The tendency to ascribe to Confucius as his main concern a correspondence between language and reality (either the more superficial reality of given facts or some underlying realm of essences) reflects the habit of thinking in terms of such oppositions. Perhaps the tendency reflects more directly the victory of the Enlightenment anti-rhetoricians

over the temporary revival of rhetoric during the Renaissance. Because such presuppositions set the tone for further discussions of *zheng ming* as well as Chinese views on language in general, it is worthwhile to be aware of them.

The Political Power of Names

Concern with "correct names" increases in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and its application evolves in several directions, one of which is in the powerful mechanism of statecraft. ¹⁶ *Zheng ming* is stripped of its traditional connotations and becomes a political technique, as in the following quote from the *Shi zi*, a syncretic work of the third century B.C.:

The fact that without saying (*yan* 言) are executed is because of *zheng ming*. If the person who is lord over others is able to *zheng ming*, the foolish and the wise all do their very best. Hold on to the One and thereby remain calm: ordered names (*ling ming*) will be corrected (*zheng*) by themselves, ordered tasks will be settled of themselves. If rewards and punishments follow names, no one among the people will be disrespectful. (*Shi zi*, 1.6a7-9)

This view of names as political tools is dominant in so-called Legalist texts, among which are the fragments ascribed to Shen Buhai (fourth century B.C.), the successful chancellor of the state of Hân. He is also considered the originator of the *xing ming* (Shape and Name) theory, even though the expression never occurs in the extant fragments attributed to him.¹⁷

Although, like *zheng ming*, *xing ming* has been discussed in various contexts,¹⁸ one of its most familiar interpretations is consistent with the sense of *zheng ming* in the *Shi zi* passage. In this context, Herlee Creel has suggested restricting the translation to "performance and title," referring to, respectively, the "shape" of one's political realizations and the "name" of the task (Creel, 1982:83-85). John Makeham has argued that *ming* does not refer to the "title" but to the "words, speech, declaration or claim" (Makeham, 1990-91:98) made by the candidate when appointed to office or allotted a task. Whether it refers to the promises made

by an officer against which the ruler will check his accomplishments, his reputation as compared to his real value, or the job description connected with the title—the "*cahier de charges*"—versus its fulfillment by the person in charge, words are the norms for checking and adapting reality.

Xing ming has not been translated as "shaping names," which would be analogous with "correcting" or "correctly using names." Apart from the fact that *xing* does not occur as a verb in this context, textual evidence also suggests that the technique requires changing shapes *according* to names rather than changing or shaping names. While in the Confucian *zheng ming* there was still a concern with names being correct or corrected according to tradition, one's intentions, or the mere facts, in this political version of the expression names have taken on independence and power. They are the norms to which reality has to adapt and against which it will be accordingly checked. Not surprisingly, *ming* 命 (order/ mandate/decree) are often used interchangeably.¹⁹ Names are orders: by manipulating a network of names from his polar position, the ruler keeps everything under control. While his orders descend step by step through the official hierarchy to the furthest corners of the realm, performances ascend to be checked by him. (See *Shen Buhai*, 1.4, tr. Creel, 1974:347-48.)

The *Han fei zi*, considered to be the most representative compilation of Legalist thought, describes the procedures of *xing ming* as follows:

When someone serving as minister puts a proposal in words, the ruler entrusts him with the task in accordance with his words, and according to the task makes him responsible for the result. If the result fits the task, and the task fits the words, he rewards; if not, he punishes.

The result is that not only those persons whose performances fall short of their proposals are punished but also those who go beyond their proposals by achieving greater results: "It is not because [the ruler] is displeased with great results, but because he judges the harm in failure to fit the name more important than great results. Therefore he punishes" (*Han fei zi*, 7.6b-7a, tr. Liao, 1959.I:48-49). This radical policy is the means for eradicating all other norms for

ministerial behavior especially traditional virtues such as loyalty and devotion—in favor of the ruler's *ming*: his names or orders.

Thus, in the governmental machinery, names constitute the highest norm for reality, in the "Shape and Name" theory as well as in the strictly political exploitation of "correctly using names." But not all names function equally well. Shen Buhai, for instance, distinguishes between correct (*zheng*) and incorrect or, more literally, "leaning" (*yi* 倚) names:

Anciently, to order the world, Yao used names. As his names were *zheng*, the world was ordered. To order the world, Jie also used names. As his names were *yi*, the world fell in disorder. Therefore the sage values correctness of names. (*Shen Buhai*, 1.8, tr. Creel, 1974:351)

Creel translates *yi* as "perverse." Whatever its meaning, it clearly stands for the opposite of *zheng* and thus describes names that do not conform to the norm which Shen Buhai implicitly uses for good naming. Even though the ruler is the highest "namer" shaping political reality, philosopher-advisers feel compelled to instruct him in the business of naming. Thus, on a metapolitical level, there are norms for names formulated in predominantly Legalist views of language.

Names have to function effectively in providing the ruler with power and—as a means to this aim—the people with peace and stability. In this sense, success is the test of naming, as well as its ultimate norm. There is nothing exclusively Legalist about this insight. We saw earlier that Xun zi did not provide any justification for calling Wu "king" other than his success in gaining the people's allegiance (see p. 143). Although the success of a name only follows the application of that name—"king" instead of "rebel" for the founder of the Zhou dynasty, "murder" instead of "frontier defense" in reunited Germany—it nevertheless functions as a confirmation and justification for that name (see p. 208). For the so-called Legalist authors, the ruler's names were the norm to which political reality had to be adapted. "Stealing" was what the ruler called "stealing," without regard to any other norms than those that would enhance the power of his names. In view of this purpose, correspondence with reality in the sense of a mere reflection of given facts certainly would not do as a norm; nor would correspondence with his

deepest intentions, some lofty model, or, least of all, with tradition. With a particularly sharp eye for the political manipulation of names, they stressed the importance of clarity in the definition of words, consistency in their implied punishments and rewards, and avoidance of mutually contradictory, far-fetched, unrealistic, and ambiguous orders. The ruler had to be careful with his speech in order to enhance the power of his own words. "He must speak so seldom that, when he does, 'his single word' will have the maximum impact. But before he speaks the word of command, he must consider all of the circumstances with the greatest care and make sure in advance that what he says will have its intended effect" (Creel, 1974:78-79). ²⁰ This political manipulation of *zheng ming* and *xing ming* was consistent with the power that Confucius had discovered in language but stripped of its traditional burden and revised as a purely political technique. The Legalists enlisted the performative function of language, supported by and supporting political authority.

From a rhetorical point of view, the source of names is naturally the namer. The priority given to the namer in the political exploitation of *ming*, and even in the early Confucian understanding of *zheng ming*, was not the consequence of a strong competition between rhetoric and philosophy. Rather, it reflected insight into, and recognition of, the power of language in politics. Even though the Chinese Masters advanced norms for names, trying to prevent moral and political arbitrariness, naming remained a matter of shaping reality, not merely mirroring it. This is most evident in the Legalist discussion of names. But even in Confucius's treatment of "the correct use of names," I have argued that the major emphasis on correspondence lies in the interpretation by sinologists rather than in the original text itself. This interpretation is largely the product of a "philosophical" tendency to demand from the spoken language a meek adherence to and reflection of the eternal "name" understood as the essence of an object as it is written, as it were, in the order of nature.

8.2. The Source of Names

A side aspect of the tension between language and reality and between "rhetoric" and "philosophy" in the West was the opposition during the Middle Ages between nominalism and realism. The

former denied the existence of any essential connection between reality and language because a name (*nomen*) was considered accidental and assigned by language users; the latter claimed that common names stood for universals or Ideas, which were more real than actual things.²¹ Given the concern with names in the classical Chinese corpus and the "practice of asking of something, not what it is, but what is meant by its name" (Graham, 1989:421), it is not surprising that ancient Chinese thought has been understood by Western scholars in terms of this nominalism-versus-realism dichotomy. The passages that have convinced Angus Graham that "there is no evidence of a Realist doctrine of universals in China" are not the political discussions quoted above, but epistemological discussions—knowing how to name that range beyond He guan zi's immediate concerns. These discussions constitute the sharpest debate on names in the classical corpus, remembered in treatises such as the *Gongsun Long zi* 公孙龙子, the Mohist *Canons*, and the *Xun zi*, all taking "what we would call Nominalism for granted" (Graham, 1989:82-83).²²

Graham's insight has been checked more broadly with other views on language in the Chinese corpus, and the *Pheasant Cap Master* has been involved in the discussion. Because He guan zi does not reflect on language by appeal to what is clearly a Western opposition—neither, of course, do any of his contemporaries—and because he does not even join the predominantly epistemological dispute between Xun zi and the Mohists, it is worthwhile to couch the discussion in Chinese terms with a clear reference to political concerns. The difference between realist and nominalist views on language would, in the Chinese texts, amount to different views on the nature of names, and more specifically, on their source.²³

The Sage-Ruler as Source of Names

Names come from the sage. Within the large context of heaven and earth, he is responsible for dividing up reality by naming it:

The lay-out of members and placing of joints, unchanging for a myriad ages, is from the positions of heaven and earth; the dividing of things and sequencing of names so that figures and

patterns²⁴ are clear (*ming*) and distinct is from the equalizing by the spiritual sages...²⁵ Hence figure (*wen* 理) is what he uses for sequencing names. (11:76/9-77/7, tr. Graham, 1989.H:516)

As in this quotation, He guan zi's views on names either explicitly provide the namer with a norm for naming—here, figures and patterns²⁶—or implicitly evaluate the ruler's use of language against some norm.

Aside from these views, to which we will return later when discussing the norms for naming, there are several other passages attesting to the importance of the ruler's *yan* (saying/pronouncing) and *ming* (orders/decrees) as sources of order.

The "Kingly Blade," the symbol of a policy that is not limited to one particular age, consists in

rewarding by calculating achievements,
pronouncing (*yan*) by assessing power. (1:3/8)

But there is a danger of the ruler's *yan* being altered by his ministers.²⁷ In order to prevail over the empire, the ruler's pronouncements need the support of laws (*fa*) that are "standards" in the politically most concrete sense.

Law values "following up pronouncements" (*ru yan* 非者), what law separates from. Because what he pronounces right is clung to by law, it thrives; because what he pronounces wrong is dissociated from by law, it perishes. If²⁸ law does not follow up pronouncements, the ancestor is mixed up. (5:21/8-10)

The claim that the ruler's judgments in terms of *shi* and *fei* determine what is right and wrong in the empire is not exceptional in the classical corpus.²⁹ But this passage specifies that these judgments thrive in combination with law. Chapter 4, "Heaven's Model" (*Tian ze* 天則), makes the point more forcefully: As long as laws and punishments are neglected, one's *yan* will not be executed, not even within the realm of one's own family: "Obscure pronouncements

(*yan*) are easy, but following them up (*ru yan*) difficult. Therefore, a father is not able to get it from his son, a lord is not able to get it from his minister" (4:14/2-3).³⁰

The passage above in which the ruler's pronouncements of right and wrong are said to be supported by laws continues: "Hence, what generates law is decree (*ming*); what is generated by law, is also decree. The decree is what is so by itself (*zi ran* 自然)" (5:21/10-22/1, tr. Graham, 1989.H:517). This conclusion is particularly interesting. It confirms that the ruler's judgments are *ming* in the sense that they form the basis for laws; fortified by law, these judgments constitute the decree still more forcefully. Within the network of a legal system, laws mutually support and reference each other, and lead ultimately to the first law—the ruler's word or, in the modern nation-state, the constitution. In both the classical and modern contexts, there are first lawgivers—often "rebels," according to the previous system—who assert their judgments as laws without having any further legal ground. While philosophers may provide these "lawgivers" with extralegal principles or "natural laws" as an ideological support for their system, they cannot avoid the fact that, legally speaking, *ming* is ultimately "so-of-itself," the ungrounded ground of order (see pp. 208-210).

The occurrence of *zi ran*—in modern Chinese, "nature"—in this passage might suggest that the decree belongs to the realm of nature, while political order is only a superstructure by man.³¹ He guan zi would then be doing something very familiar, joining philosophers in providing the ruler's system with a transcendent order. But there are many indications in the *Pheasant Cap Master* that this strict distinction between nature and culture was not made. Shortly before this passage, the author states in an analogous fashion: "The person who generates and completes *fa* in himself, call him a sage" (5:20/10, tr. Graham, 1989.H:515). This close analogy between the sage and the decree, both generating *fa*, suggests that the latter does not belong to a nonhuman realm. Moreover, *ming* is often defined in terms of the ruler. Chapter 1, "Broad Selection" (*Bo xuan*), for instance, begins by enumerating four tests (*ji*), the last of which is *ming*, defined as follows: "What we call '*ming*' is that of which none does not reside with the lord" (1:1/10-2/1). Chapter 4 concludes with the exclamation: "That one man! That one man! He is where *ming* reaches its extreme pole" (4:19/4-5). Thus far, the

perfect ruler—or the father within the familial sphere—is the source of names, judgments, decrees, and, consequently, order. Law serves as the enforcement of his words. But one intriguing passage seems to take exception to this view by suggesting an alternative source of order.

The "One" as Source of Order

One of the most frequently cited and discussed passages of the *Pheasant Cap Master* introduces chapter 5, "Circular Flow" (*Huan liu*), with a curious generative process in which "names" occupy the fifth position. Questions as to the source of this process and the status of names in relation to the prior and subsequent steps have involved the *Pheasant Cap Master* in a nominalism-versus-realism debate.

After One (*yi*) there is energy (*qi*), then intentions (*yi* 意). Once covenants are decided upon, the right time (*shi*) is set;³² once the right time is set, things (*wu*) come forth. (5:19/7-10, tr. Graham, 1989.H:515)³³

From the primal "One" emerges "energetic. stuff," which is concentrated in the ruler, shaped by his "intentions," and becoming more concrete in his "plans"—the mental pictures or diagrams according to which his intentions will be executed.³⁴ The next steps toward order and control are taken when the ruler unambiguously "names" reality with authority and cosmic force. Everything then gets a "shape" on the basis of which "jobs" are imposed, and a system is installed, complete with rewards and punishments, referred to as "covenants."³⁵ On the basis of this powerful and smoothly functioning political system around the cosmic ruler, the "right time" can be set for every action so that the whole political "reality" comes to life.

This interpretation gives an account of the primacy of names over shapes, consonant with the performative power attributed to language in other texts, whether incidental, as in the early Confucian passages, or fully exploited, as in some later arguments. Shapes

follow names when a powerful person forcefully imposes his intentions and plans by prescriptively naming governmental or military tasks. The ruler who is able to nurture his *qi* experiences a profound mystical unity. Emerging from it, he is filled with a vital psychic energy from which the successive stages in setting up a government derive. Thriving on cosmic energy, driven by his intentions, and guided by plans, the One Man creates an enemy by publicly and consistently naming another state "enemy," and the unique general shapes a front line by clearly and forcefully naming some soldiers the "front line."

However one may interpret this passage, the evolution is described in basically political terms—from names to shapes, leading to work and covenants. But the terminology could, by extension, have been attributed to the One as some higher or more abstract source of cosmic order than a human ruler or general. For instance, Energy, Heaven, or Nature could serve as the One. In analogy with man, the One could contain Ideas and Images similar to Platonic Forms.³⁶ By attaching a name to them, reality would become shaped, initiating actions and relations that would determine the time, and finally create a total world of things. In the sense that the essence of things—presumably their Ideas or Images—and their corresponding names would both remain beyond human control, He guan zi would then have presented a realist theory of language.

The first to propose this idea was Graham himself: "At first sight this passage may suggest that in the cosmological process itself the generation of things follows ideas, pictures and names emerging from the primal *ch'i*. On this interpretation we would have here the rudiments of a 'Realist' theory of naming to set beside the 'Nominalism' of the Later Mohists and Hsün Tzu." Graham relates this hypothesis to another line in this chapter, quoted earlier, where *yan* (saying/pronouncing) is characterized as "the ancestor of the myriad things" (5:21/8-9), followed by a discussion of the importance of "following up *yan*." Graham continues: "It would indeed seem theoretically possible for ancient Chinese to conceive Heaven personified after the analogy of the human ruler as fixing the names of things by his decree (*ming*, cognate with *ming* 'name') before generating them." For Graham, the obvious alternative to a nominalism with the ruler at the top of the generative process is a realism under heaven's rule. Given the human source of *tian* in

Chinese history, the characterization of the ruler as *tian's* son (*tian zi* 天子), and the recurring analogies between state and cosmos in the *Pheasant Cap Master* as well as other third-century B.C. texts, this alternative indeed seems the most straightforward.³⁷ But using this analogy to affirm the realist interpretation has consequences: If one appeals to an anthropomorphized heaven as the source of names, then the distinction between nominalism and realism, between the ruler naming and an inherent correspondence between reality and names becomes blurred. But Graham dismisses this interpretation on other grounds: "No school except the Mohists went as far as that in personifying Heaven, and it was in the Mohist school that the 'Nominalist' theory of naming developed." Thus, he concludes: "Evidently it is the sage ruler whose saying is ancestor of the myriad things" (Graham, 1989.H:514).

A first objection to Graham's nominalist interpretation of this passage comes from advocates of a realist view on language in the *Pheasant Cap Master*. They point out that heaven is not explicitly mentioned at the top of this generative process. They therefore suggest another source of names, rather than following Graham in dismissing the realist alternative. John Makeham finds Graham's objection less than persuasive, "given that the passage is describing that which issues from 'the One.'" Makeham further remarks that "the One, not Heaven, is portrayed as the ultimate source of things in *He Guan Zi*" (Makeham, 1991:362n. 90). Emphasis on the One as "the starting-point of all paths," prior even to the way, is indeed exceptional to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, as Graham himself has pointed out (Graham, 1959.H:510). A further confirmation of Makeham's alternative is the fact that *Tai Yi* (Supreme One), in a personified form, figures in chapters 10 and 11 as teacher and exemplary ruler, residing in the center of the four directions, their corresponding musical tones, and various activities (10:71/3). But this confirmation again has the disadvantage of blurring the line between the mythological ruler, Supreme One, and the more abstract One, and thus also blurring the distinction between nominalism and realism.³⁸

In Peerenboom's hypothesis, finally, the distinction between abstract and concrete sources of order is maintained more sharply, since he does not appeal to the analogy of an abstract source of order and some ruling figure. For him, He guan zi's realist theory of

language lies in his conviction that "names are grounded in an impersonal, rule-governed natural order" (Peerenboom, 1991:184). They "come preassigned, attached as it were to the determinate form of the real objects to which they refer" (Peerenboom, 1991:183). The connection between language and reality is a preexisting given, totally beyond human control. In the ruler's use of language, as in all his important actions, he merely reflects reality as it is given. He guan zi's view on language is therefore consistent with the "foundational epistemology and theory of a discovered natural law," which Peerenboom attributes to him (Peerenboom, 1991:184).³⁹ In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, or at least in the chapters that Peerenboom characterizes as *Huang lao*—from chapters 3 to 6 and 8 to 11—language functions as a mirror, not a knife.

Peerenboom does not provide any other textual support for his attribution of a realist theory of language to Pheasant Cap Master, apart from some quotes from the four *Silk Manuscripts*. This perhaps explains a cautious note in his conclusion: "Thus, in light of the strong Huang-Lao character of chapter 5 of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, it is possible that the author had in mind a realist theory of names similar to that of the *Boshu*" (Peerenboom, 1991:184). Even in relation to this particular passage, however, the interpretation is not convincing. Where in the passage lies this natural order as the source of the generative process? Even if we accepted Peerenboom's claim that in "the *Heguanzi*, *tian* and *di* refer to an impersonal natural order," as he often translates the terms, they simply do not occur in this passage (Peerenboom, 1991:177). But there is another candidate: "[T]he ultimate source of names and so forth is *qi*, the primal quasi-materialist energy which constitutes the stuff of reality" (Peerenboom, 1991:184). The advantage of *qi* for the realist interpretation of this passage is that it is never considered a ruler in the *Pheasant Cap Master* and therefore allows more readily than Heaven or the One a distinction between the realms of pure nature and human control.⁴⁰ But is this sharp distinction made in the text?

Whoever or whatever is posited as the primal One at the beginning of this cosmogonic chain, two points seem to be clear: First, the general outline goes from chaotic force to structured power, and second, the original framework is one of human control articulated in terms of intentions, names, jobs, and covenants. The

one ruler and the ruling One are not as clearly distinguished as a modern reader would expect. Therefore, "the roots issue from the One Man. Hence, we call him 'heaven.' Nothing does not receive his decree (*ming*)" (6:28/3).

My problem with the attribution of an "impersonal, rule-governed natural order" to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, and with the nominalism versus realism dispute in general, is the forcing of a sharp distinction between nature and culture, which the text, curiously but interestingly, does not make. On the one hand, heaven is indeed not personified in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, as Graham points out; neither is it, on the other hand, identified with the quasi-scientific order in nature. *Tian* is almost always described in political terms and the One Man in heavenly terms. Sometimes they are even explicitly identified: "The lord is heaven: if heaven does not open its/his gate and doors, it/he causes the subjects to harm each other" (6:27/6-7). In the absence of a strict distinction between the natural and human realms, between the abstract source of order and the concrete ruler, the opposition between realism and nominalism loses its relevance.⁴¹

Because a discussion of He guan zi's view on names that evokes this opposition between nominalism and realism assumes distinctions that one spontaneously makes under the influence of traditional Western philosophy, it prevents one from becoming aware of one's own assumptions. What makes this passage so intriguing is that the generative process seems to bypass the common distinctions between mind and matter, abstract and concrete, nature and culture: energy that seems to be of the material world gives rise to intentions that belong, rather, to the mind; "time," which should be privileged as part of nature, originates in this passage only as "opportunity" after human work and covenants; names curiously give rise to shapes; and things come only at the very end of the generative process.⁴² Because there is no familiar dualism in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, there is no ground for assuming the author thought that a concrete human world issues forth from some abstract natural order. Instead, there is the evolution from subtle to coarse, from chaos to order, all in terms of one stuff: an intention is coarser than fluid energy, plans are more shaped than intentions, and so forth. The One, as ultimate source of names, is natural as well as cultural, material as well as spiritual. This symbiosis of the

human and natural realms makes the One as the source of names much less personal than in the previously discussed views on *ming*, but never as impersonal as a scientifically rule-governed natural order.

8.3. Norms for Naming

One way to enhance the power of names and, simultaneously, to prevent arbitrariness in their use is to force upon the ruler norms for naming. Even in the case of "correctly using names" (*zheng ming*) and "Shape and Name" (*xing ming*), we saw that the political use of names did not go totally unchecked, at least not in the writings of Masters. On the contrary, the views on language expressed by these Masters frequently advanced norms for naming and thus for preventing arbitrariness and chaos. Even authors who were concerned only with the ruler's power opposed arbitrariness and inconsistency in naming, claiming that they would not lead to political success.

Names and Norms

An increased awareness of the political power of naming in the *Pheasant Cap Master* and its attribution of naming to a semicosmic source is accompanied by a growing emphasis on norms for naming. Even within the ideal political framework designed in chapter 6, "Starting-point of the Way" (*Dao duan*), He guan zi appoints ministers who are entrusted with the ruler's statements (*yan*): "The achievement of the loyal ministers is that they correct his statements (*zheng yan* 正言), straighten his behavior, and redress the king's mistakes" (6:30/1). The wrong use of language at the top of the social pyramid is a major cause of suffering at the bottom. Several passages elaborate on the disastrous results of the ruler's failed ability in this respect.

The disaster described in chapter 7, "Surpassed from Nearby" (*Jin die*) was caused by the careless use of words in interstate diplomacy, misconduct for which Chu was well known (see p. 20).

Nothing is valued more highly in the way of the ruler than contracts and covenants: if one loses people's trust by taking a

piece of land, a sage king would not take it. Acting against one's word (*yan*) and turning one's back on a contract, both end up in trouble. (7:34/6-7, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:72)

In this case, the ruler and his ministers failed to make their words accord with their true plans, or their deeds with their promises. Because they spoke in an inconsistent and unreliable manner, they are accused of being 'spill-heads' (*lan shou*) (see p. 119).

One case of arbitrary naming that can arise within the state is the ruler's careless use of titles. With the obstruction of his clear-sightedness, posthumous titles (*shi*) are not assigned (see p. 148):

Without the assignment of posthumous titles there is confusion. He demands of others what they do not have and forces others to what they are not up to. Although he commands them⁴³ to exasperation, he does not exhaust their love. Although he urges them to fulfillment,⁴⁴ he does not seek their real worth.⁴⁵ With empty names he elevates them: the most exquisite white is deemed black ... (8:41/10-42/2, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:100-102)

Where titles do not accord with the minister's real worth, the consequences are dramatic. This analysis sounds similar to the complaint in chapter 2, "Calling Attention to the Rarer" (*Zhu xi*), in which ministers work hard out of fear and without sincere devotion. The passage is followed by a list of disasters, some of which are specified below:

Because passing energy (*jing qi* 經氣) does not regulate in kinds, shapes (*xing*) are separated from correct names (*zheng ming*). Because the five types of energy miss their starting-point, the four seasons do not get completed. (8:41/10-42/6, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:103)⁴⁶

Because of the poor regulation of names that arises from the ruler's wrong attitude in general, the energy that ought to disperse itself evenly from the center in accord with the plan or picture in the ruler's mind is not well regulated. Therefore, shapes do not follow correct names. As in the introductory passage of chapter 5, not only

the source of the ruler's power but also the influence of his actions reaches out into the cosmos.

The arbitrary use of language lies in the fact that judgments, statements, titles, and promises do not accord with a variety of norms. The strongest claim for using a standard in deciding political matters occurs in chapter 17, "Heavenly Assessment" (*Tian quan* 天權):

Those who set up a gnomon to peer far away, do not get confused; those who hold on to the standard (*fa*) to make decisions, are not in doubt.⁴⁷ Grounded statements (*gu yan* 固言) contain the means to expect something.⁴⁸ To peer without gnomon and decide without *fa*, it is surely confusion to which this adheres! (17:107/4-6)

This passage argues for the use of a standard without specifying what this standard should be.⁴⁹ *Fa* refers to various kinds of standards in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, depending on the context: a written law, for adjudicating legal cases, a compass for drawing circles, or numbers and measures in astrology and administration. But all of these seem to depend on one decisive standard beyond names, an encompassing model for the ruler in all his actions: the model of heaven.

The Model of Heaven

Heaven is posited as the most important model for the ruler throughout the *Pheasant Cap Master*. As the norm for his entire posture, his powerful use of language included, heaven is advanced more explicitly and forcefully than any norm hitherto discussed. Compared with the relative obscurity of the various norms for names operating in earliest Confucian passages on "correctly using names," let alone the Legalist suggestions, He guan zi's insistence on the model of heaven introduces a rather strict norm for the ruler. This model suggests a movement in the direction of unbiased and impersonal rule, as did the location of names and order with a semicosmic source.

Although *tian* is sometimes combined with *di* and stands for both as "heaven and earth," most descriptions quite literally concern the orderly sky. The discussion of *shen* (spirit), *ming* (illumination),

and *fa*, concluding with the claim that the sage generates and completes *fa*, continues: "Only the sage penetrates the authentic character of the way. It is only the way that he takes as standard (*fa*). Impartial government is thereby illumined." This is followed by a visual illustration of this way, with the handle of the Dipper moving around the cardinal points throughout the year:

When the handle of the Dipper points east, the whole world is spring; when south, it is summer; when west, it is autumn; when north, it is winter. When the handle of the Dipper rotates above, affairs are set up below. When the handle of the Dipper points in one direction, as far as the four borders,⁵⁰ each [season] gets completed. This is how the way deploys the standard (*fa*). (5:21/1-4, tr. Graham, 1989.H:517)⁵¹

Graham (1989.H:501) believes that this passage is necessary to understand the following claim, which is the only one in the *Pheasant Cap Master* that contains the expression *xing ming*:

Because the way has measures and numbers, the spirits and illumined (*shen ming*)⁵² can be communicated with; because things have mutual overpowering, water and fire can be used; because of east, west, south and north, shapes and names (*xing ming*) can be trusted. (12:82/2-3).⁵³

The celestial path (*dao*) of constellations moving orderly through the sky as a rotating dome covering the earth may be the standard for the sage-ruler to emulate. But this way uses an even more powerful standard as a model for the One Man. The quote from chapter 5 continues:

Therefore, the sun and moon are not enough to speak of illumination: the One acts as their standard (*fa*), and thereby completes their enterprises. Hence, nothing does not proceed on the way. Once the standard of the One is set up, the myriad things all come as dependents. (5:21/6-8, tr. Graham, 1959.H:517)

Only when well understood can the sun and moon serve as models for a ruler to imitate. The real model, and the cause of their illumination, is the unique axis by which the celestial firmament is spon-

taneously regulated. In chapter 7, Pheasant Cap Master accuses the ruler of abandoning his model by "leaning (*yi* 倚) on nobles and leaving the way" (7:36/10):

Heaven and earth do not lean. They are installed⁵⁴ by relying on the capable. (12:87/4)⁵⁵

Another passage, paralleled in the *Jing fa* (*Model and Law*), posits the heavenly regularities as tests for human affairs:⁵⁶

The sun reliably goes and comes, in south and north has an extreme: the test of measurements. The moon reliably waxes and wanes, in advancing and regressing has a constancy: the test of calculation.⁵⁷ The constellations don't disorder their course and don't disturb each other in their replacement: the test of positions. As heaven illumines the three to fix the One, none of the myriad doesn't arrive (*zhi*). (10:67/8-68/2, part. tr. Peerenboom, 1991:178)⁵⁸

Again, the description of the sky concludes with the One. The ruler's first task is to attract talented ministers to his court and thereby establish his unique position in the center of the political realm (see pp. 125-126). Then he must clearly divide responsibilities so that nobody dares to intrude on another's domain. Heaven again functions as the model.

Heaven and earth's use of the boundless is to keep to measures, so that they cannot be "spilled".⁵⁹ the sun does not exceed its celestial points, the moon lodges at sequenced units; they match their names (*ming*) and are devoted to their jobs (*shi*); stars stick to [their positions] and do not depart from them ... This is how heaven operates by supervising the Dipper. (4:8/4-9)

This political description of the celestial realm is followed by a celestial description of the political realm:

Joining the triad at the center, he completes his position. The four types of *qi* form the government: in the front Extender, in the back Pole, to the left Horn, and to the right Axe.⁶⁰ He

exhausts⁶¹ the figures, follows the patterns, and uses them to examine the officials and masses: the young and old, he selects among them all. In front there is no disaster from ill-will, behind no calamity of a destroyed name or corrupt behavior. Hence, his awesomeness upwards and downwards reaches the extremes;⁶² his kindness spreads over all four quarters, without gap.⁶³

Again, the conclusion turns to the One:

That heaven does not go contrary, is because it does not leave the One. If it left the One, it would return to be a thing (*wu*).⁶⁴ (4:8/10-9/5)⁶⁵

In warfare too, efficiency results from emulating the sky, more specifically, its pole:

Those who in bygone days were good at war, mobilized troops to follow each other, arranged them according to the five phases, fought with the five tones, directed themselves according to heaven's pole (*tian zhi ji* 天之極), and shared the directions of the spirits: all kinds were generated and completed, using the One without exhaustion. (12:86/3-8; tr. Rand, 1979-80:207)⁶⁶

As in the generative process introducing chapter 5, all order flows from the inexhaustible One: all parts of the army spread out in perfect harmony directed by one central figure. In the following passage, the commander is even identified with *zhao yao* 招搖, literally, the "Waver," that star in the Big Dipper that was supposed to direct the whole firmament.⁶⁷

The [Banner] Waver resides above, those who invigorate [the fury], initiate action below.⁶⁸ They take the standard (*fu*) from heaven, and from the four seasons they get the images: spring uses the green dragon; summer the red bird; fall the white tiger; winter the dark warrior. (17:108/3-7)⁶⁹

This passage occurs right after the analogy made by He guan zi between standards and gnomons in which he insists upon their

application. To emulate *tian* means to hold firmly onto the unique and central position by allowing no competition or obstruction, to stretch out a network of officials or soldiers, balancing them evenly, to remain unbiased toward either side, to be correct (*zheng*) and avoid leaning (*yi*), to oversee oppositions and alternations, and to undertake as little unnecessary action as possible.

In addition to all these passages explicitly advancing *tian* as a cosmic model, celestial imagery is implicitly pervasive throughout the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Chapter 6, for instance, is a long discussion of personnel selection patterned on the firmament, in which the political pole is surrounded by an orderly hierarchy of virtues, positions, seasons, jobs, tasks, expected achievements, and selection criteria all correlating in kinds: the humane (*ren* 仁) person, for instance, resides on the left, enhances spring, takes care of his lord's management, oversees property and divides goods, is good at collaborating and does not contend, and can be selected through observation of whom he gives to (6:27/1-31/2).

Considering this stress on heaven as an impersonal model, the *Pheasant Cap Master* seems to suggest an abstract natural order as the unnegotiable norm for human action, standing totally independent of man. Such a reading is a corollary of the realist interpretation of He guan zi's view on language, in which speech ought to mirror Ideas or Images.⁷⁰ But as with the discussion between nominalism and realism, tracking the source of names to either a ruler or some natural entity, this interpretation is again vitiated by the curious overlap between the human and natural realms in the *Pheasant Cap Master*. In chapter 11, "Supreme Indistinctness" (*Tai lu*), the nonhereditary ruler is described as the person in whose bosom "heaven and earth move and act" so that "work is completed outside" (11:79/4). Chapter 4 urges the ruler to "let things go and leave all to positional advantage," because "what/who lets things go (*juan wu* 捐物) and leaves all to positional advantage, is heaven ... Therefore, no one is able to govern, who does not heaven (*bu tian*)" (4:14/5-6, tr. Graham, 1989.H:513).⁷¹ Only in one other instance in the *Pheasant Cap Master* is the expression "let things go" used again: "A sage lets things go (*juan wu*): following their pattern, he lodges with them" (12:89/4).⁷²

Given the recurring identification of at least one man (ideally, the One Man) with *tian*, the absence of any dualistic imagery, and

man's responsibility for enhancing—not merely mirroring—the cosmic order, any characterization of He guan zi's philosophy by appeal to a transcendent, unnegotiable natural order is unwarranted. As in the case of Fung Yu-lan's understanding of *zheng ming*, I believe such an interpretation relies more on the assumptions of the reader than on the text itself. But these are matters to which we will return in more detail when following the Pheasant Cap Master to the realm beyond names.

To conclude, He guan zi's attribution of order to a semicosmic source and his insistence on nature as the norm for naming tempt the interpreter of this text, more than almost any other ancient Chinese text, to a conventional reading in which absolute primacy is given to reality, with language standing in neutral correspondence to it.⁷³ The alternative interpretation, reinforced by the two previous chapters, gives fuller weight—without claiming a complete understanding—to those passages that do not accord with the familiar interpretation because they refuse to offer a clear distinction between nature and culture. The "rhetorical" perspective sees reality and language as interdependent: things are shaped by names, especially in the privileged realm of politics; names adapt to norms such as heaven. However impersonal the One is as a source of names, and however strict it is as a norm for naming, He guan zi never presents it as a totally independent reality. Because of the author's insistence on the sage-ruler's names, pronouncements, and orders as sources of political and even cosmic order, there is no indication that Pheasant Cap Master demoted the ruler from being a powerful namer to a simple mirror of given realities.

Chapter 9

Beyond Names

Beyond names lies the unnamed. From what we have termed a "philosophical" point of view, the unnamed is reality, especially its inherent order, existing prior to language and waiting to be faithfully reflected by it. But from the "rhetorical" point of view, the political world is to an important extent shaped by names; order in nature is simply a norm—for Pheasant Cap Master a major norm—to be used in political action, naming included. Discussion of heaven as a model, therefore, belonged properly to the previous chapter. But the *Pheasant Cap Master* has aroused so much sinological interest in the search for "laws of nature" in some transcendent realm independent of human action that the issue simply cannot be avoided. What is the realm beyond names in the *Pheasant Cap Master*?

The ancient Chinese corpus is preoccupied with a realm beyond names that has no counterpart in the Western art of rhetoric, or even in the mainstream philosophical tradition, and perhaps appears only in the writings of mystics at the periphery of Western thought. The Chinese view on the realm beyond names was not, however, of a transcendent, meta-physical reality too lofty to be mirrored by human language, but of the unshaped stuff insofar as it precedes names.¹ Like so many topics in Chinese philosophy, this fascination may have originated in the field of politics: the power of charismatic influence without the use of words, or the paradox of the first "namer" being himself unnamed. Already in the *Analects* (*Lun yu*) we encounter admiration for heaven's charismatic power to effect harmony without speech (*Lun yu*, 17/19, tr. Lau, 1988:146).

And, according to Confucius, only Yao emulated heaven so well that he became too boundless for people to assign a name to him (*Lun yu*, 8/19, tr. Lau, 1988:94-95).

Despite, and yet also because of, the increased emphasis on names during the late Zhou, appreciation increased for the unnamed as the limit and ground of language. While political thinkers are concerned with the source of political names that is itself unnamed and thus unchecked, military tacticians claim that "whatever can be named can also be prevailed over."² Although in Daoist sources, such as the later *Zhuang zi* chapters, the *Lao zi*, the *Huai nan zi*, and the *He guan zi*, this fascination with the unnamed or unshaped is extended to cosmological or ontological dimensions, the discussion is never totally independent of political concerns.

9.1. Laws of Nature

The Pheasant Cap Master has first caught the attention of Western scholars who were searching for an ancient Chinese equivalent to the familiar concept of "laws of nature." The answer to the question of whether this treatise contains such a notion does not only lie in the Chinese text, but, perhaps more importantly, in the particular background of such a notion and of this sinological search.

Philosophical Alternatives to Paradiastole and Norms for Names

While the art of reevaluation by redescription flourished in the Renaissance, and exponents of the *Ars rhetorica* concentrated on the study of rhetoric in the strict sense, seventeenth-century moralists and philosophers worked at a cure to counter this assault on traditional values. Their contempt for language becomes fully visible in the systematic attacks on *paradiastole*, in which some fixed reality such as a "natural law" is posited as the ultimate norm with which language is supposed to accord. Rhetoric is either rejected as delusive "verbal magic" or, at best, assigned the role of philosophy's

handmaiden. The appeal of seventeenth-century philosophers to some higher reality beyond language and their subordination of language to this reality reflect the shift from a rhetorically based culture to one based on science, and from a debate governed by the ideals of persuasion to one founded on the ideals of demonstration and proof.³

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), who offered by far the most systematic critique of *paradiastole*, was fully aware of the rhetorical power of language: "Good, and Evil, are names that signifie our Appetites, and Aversions; which in different tempers, customes, and doctrines of men, are different." Because he thought that these differences, when expressed in evaluative terminology, were a serious challenge to social and political stability, eventually leading to a continuous state of war, he denounced the practitioners of the *Ars rhetorica* as among the most dangerous enemies of social order. According to him, these rhetoricians exploited the inherent weakness of moral names by appealing to individual passions and prejudices. As a remedy, Hobbes constructed a moral philosophy, presented as "nothing else but the Science of what is Good, and Evil, in the conversation, and Society of mankind" (*Leviathan*, 15:216). As in positive science, a virtuous act could now be determined by appeal to a universal norm, namely, the contribution of this act to peace.⁴

In contrast to this philosophical effort to establish a scientific means for domesticating the power of language and, in so doing, reducing language to a mirror of given realities, we have seen the positive attention given to "names" and "naming" in ancient China. But this did not exclude the promotion of norms for or checks on naming. By the end of the Zhou and the early Han, the model of heaven and, by extension, the model of nature had become pervasive as an ideological ground for sanctioning the system, whether as a means to justify the ruler's power or as a norm to advise and criticize him (see pp. 111, 188-193). In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, we saw that names were derived from a semicosmic source and evaluated according to given standards, the highest being heaven. For this reason, the *Pheasant Cap Master* has appealed more than almost any other ancient Chinese text to sinologists in search for laws of nature in ancient Chinese thought.

Laws in Nature?

Convinced by Marcel Granet that the Chinese did not conceive of order in terms of universal or abstract laws, Joseph Needham launched a crusade against sinologists who were, according to him, "wont to translate almost any word by 'laws'" (Needham, 1956:573). Granet's characterization of Chinese thought as "[n]either God, nor Law" was specified by Needham as: "No lawgiver, no law" (Needham, 1956:215).⁵ Needham indicates thereby that the ancient Chinese never thought in terms of "laws of nature" because their tradition lacked the idea of a body of laws laid down by a transcendent lawgiver such as the Judeo-Christian God. According to Needham, sinologists have unwittingly and without justification read the word *law* into Chinese texts because the idea of "laws of nature" is so pervasive in the European mind. Needham certainly did not deny the authority that late Zhou texts attributed to *tian*, or the political terminology used to characterize this heaven. Rather, his unremitting criticism was directed against the unwarranted identification of these metaphors with "laws of nature" in their Enlightenment sense.

The specific condition of such a conception of law, expressing the underlying natural order as understood by modern science—the "law of gravity," for instance—is that it cannot be affected by human influence. Human action, however impressive, is by definition confined to the level of mere concrete reality. This strict separation of the concrete world from an abstract order totally independent of, but determining, this world is what David Hall and Roger Ames (1987:13) have called "strict transcendence." Paradoxically, it was the Enlightenment man's unshakable belief in the strict transcendence of such an unnegotiable order that gave him unprecedented power over the given cosmos.

Needham's alternative to the underlying Western metaphor of two conceptually separate worlds is the dominant image in Chinese texts, especially during the period of unification, of the polar star as focal point of a concrete pattern of order. The failure on the part of Western sinologists to fully appreciate this alternative image of one round and rotating universe repeats, according to Needham, the Jesuits' misunderstanding of Chinese astronomy, which "was essentially polar and equatorial, depending largely on

observations of the circumpolar stars, while the Greek and European astronomy had been essentially ecliptic" (Needham, 1958:172). In China, this emphasis on the pole had a powerful correlation, connecting the astronomical with the political realm, both radiating out from the center like the spokes of a wheel. "Imperial majesty corresponded, not to a legislating creator, but to a polar star, the focal point of universal ever-moving pattern and harmony not made with hands, even those of God" (Needham, 1956:580).⁶

An important and intriguing implication of this alternative background image is that human influence, however minimal at times, is not ruled out by the notion of strict transcendence. The cosmic order is never as divinely aloof from man's doings as is the "law of gravity." Cosmic influence by man, positive or negative, is at least possible. Because of the "unbroken continuum" between "the spheres of man and nature" to which Derk Bodde alludes (see p. 121), the sage who is able to perceive and act at the most subtle level—metaphorically, at the heavenly pole—is capable of influencing the order *tout court*, not merely at its concrete or descriptive level. The ancient Chinese confidence in human power over nature thus differs radically from its modern Western counterpart. The responsibility of the emperor who "embodied in himself (and, by extension, in his bureaucracy) that system of semi-magical relationships," which he was supposed "to maintain in good order" (Needham, 1956:527), is not related to scientific domination and mechanical impact of man on nature, but rather belongs to the political discourse of justifying power and sanctioning the use of violence (see p. 110).⁷

"Laws" in the He guan zi

Searching for passages in the classical corpus that would allow one to translate *fa* as "law" in the positive scientific sense of "laws of nature," Needham is intrigued by the *Pheasant Cap Master*. His interest is aroused by the following "strangely interesting passages" (Needham, 1956:547):

The One acts as their *fa*. (5:21/7)

Once the *fa* of the One is set up, the myriad things all come as dependents. (5:21/7-8)

That the *fa* reveals (*zhang*) others but is not self-permissive, is the way of heaven. (4:14/8-9) ⁸

In these passages, *fa* is associated with the One. And *fa*'s influence on other things, whether in "revealing," "molding," or "patterning" (*zhang* 章) them, is related to the heavenly movement. To discern the meaning of *fa* and its impact on the world in the last excerpt, it would be necessary to understand the meaning of *zhang* and determine its relation to *fa*. But the occurrence of *zhang* is too rare in the *Pheasant Cap Master* and the use of *fa* too diverse to allow a conclusive answer for Needham on the basis of these passages.⁹

Needham's fascination with the *Pheasant Cap Master* in this respect has not gone without response. Almost all Western *He guan zi* scholars have, even if only in passing, touched upon the question of whether *fa* in the *Pheasant Cap Master* can justifiably be translated as "law," either in the positive scientific sense, as in "laws of nature," or in the political and juridical sense, as in "natural law," founded on the impersonal natural order. While they would all concede that in some passages of the *Pheasant Cap Master* "*fa* has a metaphorical extension like that of 'law' in our own 'law of nature'" (Graham, 1989.H:517), the exact meaning of "law" and its implications for the interpretation of Chinese thought—Needham's major concern—has, to date, been the focus of only one scholar's interest.¹⁰

Randall Peerenboom is the first to seriously take up Needham's challenge to investigate the *Pheasant Cap Master* in relation to the question of whether there are "laws of nature" in early Chinese thought.¹¹ Although he avoids the expression "laws of nature" in discussing the *Pheasant Cap Master*, using instead "the impersonal natural order," the type of "natural law" that Peerenboom finds promoted in its *Huang lao* chapters—chapters 3 to 6 and 8 to 11—is grounded in precisely such an eternal, immutable, and impersonal underlying reality.¹² Nature's priority in relation to man "means not simply that human behavior and social institutions are to be modeled on the way of nature." On this point probably no *He guan zi* scholar would disagree. But, Peerenboom continues, the "natural order constitutes the foundation for the

human social order in the more radical sense that the correct social order is held to be implicated in the cosmic order" (Peerenboom, 1991:170). This last addition, the "more radical sense," is what makes "natural law" foundational. Human influence is thus strictly limited to the realm of man. The "sage discovers the predetermined Way. He is not a creator of the way(s), but a mediator between the given natural order and the human social order," merely "reflecting," the natural order in his legislation (Peerenboom, 1991:182).¹³

Human Influence in the He guan zi

With respect to the relationship between man and nature, the *Pheasant Cap Master* contains two dominant and, at first glance, contradictory themes: on the one hand, it emphasises the priority of heaven (and earth) as a model for the ruler, and, on the other, it makes the sage responsible for creating and enhancing the very order of the cosmos. The power that Pheasant Cap Master attributes to the sage is often a challenge to translation and interpretation:

Hence, the sage sets up heaven as father, and establishes earth as mother. (10:73/1-2)

Energy (*qi*) grows from spirit (*shen*); the way completes through spirit. Only the sage is able to correct their tone and attune their sound. Therefore, his power upwards reaches the supreme pure, below reaches the supreme still,¹⁴ in the middle reaches the myriad souls. (8:45/1-4, tr. Neugebauer, 1986: 116-17)

The spiritual sage . . . is the one who gathers and scatters the blossoming quintessences in order to console earth and blame heaven. He attunes flavors, reveals (*zhang*) colors, corrects sounds, thereby fixing heaven, earth and human work, so that all three are completed. (10:74/3-5, part. tr. Graham, 1989:511)

The spiritual sage rides the way and power,¹⁵ and thereby exhausts their pattern. (11:76/3-4)

The sagely king doesn't neglect root or branches; that's why the spirits and illumined (*shen ming*) begin and end with him. (11:80/4)

The quintessential spirit is what is most valuable in things. The inner sage is the source of the quintessential spirit. Because nothing is more valuable than that, no one will not reverently be regulated by him. ¹⁶ (1178/4-6)

The passage describing the reliability of the sun, moon, and stars as tests for human action (see p. 190) continues as follows:

Three seasons are for generation and growth; one for killing and punishment. Once the four seasons are fixed, heaven and earth are complete. (10:68/3-4)¹⁷

Clearly, the ruler is supposed to emulate the reliable regularity of nature. But in so doing, he "fixes" the seasons and "completes" heaven and earth, thus enhancing and extending this very order. Like an organ in nature's body or a member of the cosmic family, the ruler, as the representative of all humans, is supposed to comply with the overall organization. Like a diseased organ or a rebellious family member, he may cause disorder for the whole, but he may also contribute to the order positively. Pheasant Cap Master even attributes to man a major role in enhancing the order in nature. More than once he claims that the sage should be given priority over nature, heaven, earth, and the seasons—because, "if the sage is present, they are ordered; if not, they are disordered" (see pp. 86-87). Whatever the ruler's attitude may be, the whole order is dependent upon him as one of its parts.

The absence of any strict boundary between the realms of nature and man is confirmed by curious statements that resist this distinction (see pp. 185-186, 192-193). Confronted with the claim that "no one is able to govern, who does not heaven" (4:14/6), Angus Graham comments: "The sage does not follow the same path as Heaven, but like the stars on their course he 'heavens' (*t'ien* used verbally), does as Heaven does." The remarkable absence in the *Pheasant Cap Master* of the distinction between fact and norm is for Graham an occasion to reconsider familiar assumptions: "A Westerner tends to see Chinese discussions of the Way as vitiated by a confusion common in his own tradition, a failure to distinguish

fact from value. . . . But this I think is a mistake" (Graham, 1989. H:512-15).

Often, the interpretation of such statements differs from that of Graham: the power that the early Chinese authors attribute to man tends to be domesticated in Western translations, occasionally accompanied by a remark in a footnote complaining about the confused terminology of classical Chinese texts. He guan zi's claim that one can govern only by "heavening" is, for Peerenboom, one of the "many general statements as to the need to predicate the human social order on the natural order." Although the notion of two separate realms is absent from the Chinese texts, this familiar Western dichotomy is read into them. Peerenboom translates *tian* in this passage as "act in accordance with the natural order," thus taking care of He guan zi's inability to distinguish the prescriptive and descriptive meanings of heaven (Peerenboom, 1991:178).¹⁸

In his analysis of *Huang lao* thought in the four *Silk Manuscripts*, Peerenboom explains that the "problem, which plagues many naturalists, the author of the *Boshu* included, lies in the failure to consistently distinguish between *natural* and *nature* as pertaining to the cosmic natural order as opposed to that part of the cosmic natural order which is non-human." The absence of dualistic images in the texts is also due to a "conceptual equivocation *on the part of the author*" of the factual and normative senses of "heaven" (Peerenboom, 1993:28, my italics). Once cured of this "plague," as Peerenboom calls it, *Huang lao* thought can be described as positing the existence of an "underlying" natural order, "behind" the concrete, visible world. As a consequence of this remedy, the image of one ruling and rotating *tian*, gradually increasing in power as one moves closer to the pole, is overridden by the Western background metaphor of two conceptually separate worlds. Hence, there has been a failure on the part of some, if not most, Western scholars to appreciate the Chinese alternative image: the polestar as focal point of a concrete pattern of order, an image that is pervasive in the *Pheasant Cap Master*.¹⁹

9.2. The Unnamed Source of Names

Despite the importance attributed to orders issued by the ruler and names established by the sage, the author of the *Pheasant Cap*

Master often rejects names when they pretend to describe the namer of things. Although there are passages attesting to He guan zi's appreciation of a good reputation on the part of the ruler or his general,²⁰ whenever *ming*—name, fame, or reputation—is explicitly attributed to the ideal ruler, it is rejected as inappropriate. This rejection may be due to a general respect for the One Man and a wish to avoid making him the object of one's comments, but there is a more profound political sense in which the ruler cannot be named.

The Ruler as Unnamed Source of Names

Chapter 6, "Starting-point of the Way" (*Dao duan*), states: "The roots issue from the One Man. Hence, we call him 'heaven.' Nothing does not receive his decree; he cannot be named. Hence we call him 'spirit'" (6:28/3-4). Such a statement reminds one of the *Lao zi*, where *dao* is said to be nameless (*wu ming* 無名) manner. The impossibility of domesticating the ruler by assigning him a constant name is not contra-

dicted by this practice but is in fact underscored by He guan zi's rich variety of labels.

Another passage reminiscent of the *Lao zi* explores the imagery of the gate:

The way is what the sage orders,²³ what arrival at the utmost (*zhi* 致) its meaning, and a description cannot set up its appearance. As for an image of the way, a "gate" would be it: it doesn't make a difference among the worthy and the inadequate, the foolish and the wise, who all leave and enter through it. (18:11/5-9, tr. Graham (1989.H:510))

While Pheasant Cap Master may have been inspired by the *Lao zi* or a common lore of sayings, he interprets names in a specific political sense. The *Lao zi* offers a more general insight into the relativity of evaluative names by embarking on a continuous search for temporary images that contain variety or precede the polarity created by dividing reality up through the application of names.²⁴ In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, this imagery is applied to describe the namelessness of the One "Namer." The way is a political reality—"what the sage orders"—reminiscent of the claim that "the sage generates the way," which, in turn, "generates standards" (14:96/ 8).²⁵ The plurality that the gate allows is the variety of people circulating through it. This concrete interpretation is consistent with the identification in chapter 6 of the lord with heaven, accompanied by the warning that, if the ruler does not open his gate, those in government will prevent talented outsiders from contributing their services (6:27/6-28/1).²⁶ However "Daoist" the namelessness of the source of order may sound, in the *Pheasant Cap Master* at least, it is a long way from merely general epistemological insight into the nature of language.

The Danger of Names for the "Namer"

He guan zi's rejection of naming the "namer" expresses a concern that, in various forms, recurs in the classical Chinese corpus and

that can even be seen as a major intellectual challenge for philosophers, whether in China or the West: the paradox of order. ultimately grounded in chaos.²⁷

In politics, the "namer" who shapes reality ought to remain unnamed and unshaped by others. This is not surprising, considering the close connection between "names" (*ming* 名) (see p. 175). In the generic process introducing chapter 5, "Circular Flow" (*Huan liu*), pictures (*tu*), names (*ming*), shapes (*xing*), and all kinds of things (*wu*) evolved from the One. Because the One is the source of order, he (or it) cannot be represented by a picture, grasped by a name, forced into a shape, or domesticated as a type of thing. The One is radically different from the order that he (or it) generates. "That heaven does not go contrary, is because he/ it does not leave the One. If he/it left the One, he/it would return to be a thing (*wu*)" (4:8/10-9/5).

Wu in the political sense is not limited to material kinds of things. It is any kind of thing or person determined by a name, shape, task, position, or covenant, as opposed to the ruler who stands aloof from such determinations. The ruler's namelessness means not only that he lacks any "title" and thus cannot be assigned a job within the administrative network, but also that he falls beyond the normal order. He is not a topic for discussion or evaluation, not even of praise and celebration. Even a glorious "reputation" ought to be avoided, not only because it makes him comparable to others, thus opening the way to criticism, but also because names assume a "namer" and, hence, a person who puts himself above the ruler by judging him.

In the classical corpus, the danger of a rival "namer" is usually discussed in the larger context of the uniqueness of the source of order. Mencius attributes to Confucius the saying: "There cannot be two kings for the people just as there cannot be two suns in the sky" (*Meng zi*, 5A4, tr. Lau, 1984:142). During the fourth and, even more so, the third century B.C., when unification is the goal of each of the major states, the uniqueness of the ruler's position becomes a central topic of discussion, especially in those treatises that focus on statecraft.²⁸

The lord is the most exalted in the state. The father is the most exalted in the family. If only one is exalted, there is order; if

two, disorder. From antiquity to the present there has never been a case of two being exalted, contending for authority, and yet able to endure for long. (*Xun zi*, 8/61-65, tr. Knoblock, 1990:76)

The simultaneous existence of two competing systems of order is considered as disastrous for political success as having no system at all (*Lü shi chun qiu*, 5.2:4b-5a, tr. Wilhelm, 1979:58). The most obvious danger of a competing "namer" arises with a powerful minister who manages to make all other ministers "speak as if through one mouth" (*Han fei zi*, 31.3a9-11, tr. Liao, 1959:II:7), so that the ruler loses the power of his unique position where he alone has the authority to compare and evaluate their various statements (see pp. 125-126). Traditional morality constituted a similar threat because it was a deeply rooted alternative network of names—and thus evaluations—controlled by the hands of the aristocracy, the constant rival of the ruler's bureaucracy. The aggressive policy suggested by Han fei in his insistence on exclusive obedience to names was an attempt to establish the ruler's unique control by forcing the whole bureaucracy, the ruler included, to overcome any addiction to this traditional morality (see pp. 175-176): "Thus, with the ruler well versed in inhumanity and the minister in disloyalty, one can reign (*wang*)" (*Han fei zi*, 35.1a13-b1, tr. Liao, 1959:II:117).

The threat of an alternative namer was not only an obsession of primarily Legalist authors but a dominant concern throughout the classical corpus. A historical version of the same problem can be found in the recurrent discussions concerning regicide. Unlike the drastic policies suggested by Han fei, Confucians took a more passive attitude in the defense of their own political ideal: the ruling house of Zhou in its early days.²⁹ The Confucian stipulation of what "regicide" meant was in response to relentless attacks by those who would claim that King Wu, founding father of the Zhou dynasty, was guilty of "regicide" or had acted as a clever "thief".³⁰ As with every political order, the exemplary system of the Zhou was based on a way of naming that had broken with the previous network of names and hence lacked any ultimate foundation for its own names. There was no reason for calling Zhou Xin an "outcast" instead of "king" and King Wu a "king" instead of "rebel" other than the success with which Wu had established these names. Xun zi's discussion of

correct names exemplifies this vicious circle, i.e., founding the names of the Zhou dynasty on no authority other than the judgment of its own founding kings (*Xun zi*, 22:82/1, tr. Knoblock, 1994:127).³¹

Approaches to this problem other than those that I have termed "political" and "historical" occur in the Chinese tradition. The rituals dealing with the forcible overthrow of the legitimate ruler in early texts (Lewis, 1990:205-9) may be considered a "religious" version of the problem. Legends on hereditary versus nonhereditary transfers of power were analyzed by Sarah Allan as "mythological" expressions of the same paradox: they served to express the inherent conflict, to explore its depth, and to provide a model to overcome it (Allan, 1981:81).³² In the *He guan zi*, as in other contemporary works, we discern yet another approach. The *Pheasant Cap Master* does not join the historical discussion of whether the founding act of the Zhou dynasty deserves the name *regicide*. In the author's argument against hereditary rule (see pp. 122-125), he starts from the un-Confucian assumption that "Tang and Wu banished a lord and committed regicide to benefit their sons" (13:91/9-10). Nor is He guan zi's interest limited to the politically straightforward concern about a rival source of names. His approach could be termed "ontological" in the sense that it explores the very source of naming, the basis of order, by which the author is fascinated. Unlike Xun zi, who tries to found the system from within the system, the author of the *Pheasant Cap Master* recognizes the paradox of order being founded on chaos. But rather than joining Daoist authors in their epistemological skepticism concerning the political power of names, he is intrigued by this paradox.

Chaos as the Source of Order

However firmly one tries to found authority—whether by claiming that it emulates heaven or is based on the advice of a sage—there is inevitably a point at which it is unfounded and founds itself.³³ What makes the ruler's names powerful is their uniqueness (the absence of any alternative system of political names) combined with an insight into the ultimate impossibility of providing order with any final foundation. From this insight emerges the ontological equiva-

lent of the unnamed "namer," going beyond the primarily Legalist concern with political rivalry.

The hinge between order and chaos is called the "Big Which" (*Da shu 分名*), on the other.

Hence, what we call "way" is what resides in oneself;³⁴ what we call "power" (*de 得*) others. The standard of the way and power, the myriad things take it in their enterprises: without shape but with allotted names,³⁵ it is called: "Big Which." (5:23/6)

In this opposition between *dao* and *de*, the former seems to refer to the One Man's inactivity and shapelessness, the latter to his power in attracting and using others.³⁶

The most explicit expression of the visible order being based on the power of the invisible is the shortest of all *He guan zi* chapters: chapter 3, "Procedure by Night" (*Ye xing*):

Heaven refers to figures, earth to pattern, the moon to excision [punishment/cutting] (*xing 五政*)³⁷ to ways,³⁸ the five tones to attunement, the five voices to the original,³⁹ the five flavors to harmony,⁴⁰ rewards and punishment to covenants. All these have their check, something that makes them as they are.

Behind, we don't see its back,
in front, we don't see its head.
Completing achievements and fulfilling
tasks, nobody knows its qualities.
Pictures are not able to contain it,
names not able to pick it.
Forced to give it an explanation, I say:
Vast! vague! Yet within are images.
Vague! vast! Yet within are things.
Dark! mysterious! Yet within are quintessences.
(3:6/7-7/6)

However one understands the details of this chapter, it is clearly divided into two sections. The first, in prose, is a general description of cosmic and political correlations that define the visible, measurable and verifiable world. The next section is poetic and borrows heavily from Daoist sources and sayings.⁴¹ It invokes the yin, or nightlike, subtle, unnameable, yet powerful source of order.

9.3. Naming from the Unnamed

Combined with his insistence on the uniqueness of the "namer," He guan zi's affirmation of the ultimate chaotic source of order could be enough to reject any opposition to the ruler: critical advisers or rebellious ministers cannot claim a final foundation for challenging the ruler's power base, because there is no such foundation. Given, moreover, that political order to a large extent depends on the absence of a competing network of names, rivals should be undone on their first appearance.

But this is not He guan zi's line of thought. Although ultimately ungrounded, some political systems are more firmly grounded than others. The hinge between chaos and order is not a mere given but depends on a person's clear-sightedness and subtlety. On the continuum of energetic stuff from the finest point to the crudest reality, the wise and the foolish perceive and generate order on different levels. Chapter 3 therefore concludes:

Taking reliability to the utmost and exhausting the genuine,⁴² he turns back to the featureless. Where even ghosts are not able to see, he is able to undertake enterprises for others.⁴³ Hence, the sage values procedure by night. (3:7/6-8)⁴⁴

Some persons are able to penetrate to the level where even spirits and ghosts cannot see. This is the argument used by Pheasant Cap Master to explain the healing influence of mythical rulers and the namelessness of contemporary sages.

The Ruler's Influence in a Mythical Past

Given the absence of an ultimately transcendent order and the dependence upon a concrete and vulnerable pattern, with its vary-

ing degrees of subtlety, sagely action is described in terms not of merely passive mirroring but of discerning a fine pattern and enhancing it by meticulous carving. Rather than being admired for loyalty to eternal truths or divine dogmas—a virtue often expected of philosophers, politicians, and martyrs in the West—the sage in the *Pheasant Cap Master* is admired for his prompt and flexible reaction in the concrete world, as soon as he perceives the first symptoms of a political disease.

The highest knowledge is characterized in the *Pheasant Cap Master* as the ability to "separate the formless, the about-to-be-so, and the not-yet-had" (7:39/1-2). In chapter 10, "Supreme Flood" (*Tai hong*), Supreme One describes heaven as "the place where the spirits and illumined (*shen ming*) are rooted. It is what purifies the four seasons, molds the shapeless, carves the not-yet-sprouted, and designs ⁴⁵ the about-to-be-so" (10:66/5-7). Given the *Pheasant Cap Master's* close association between the sage and the *shen ming*, the former is "able to heaven" (*neng tian* 能天), which is the title of chapter 18. This sagely person

observes the "Which Not" (*shu mo* 孰莫), listens to the meshless, stretches out to the unbound, sorts out among the obscure, and sinks deep without getting confused. Thus, he is able to break with the soil, and to stand up in the supreme pure.⁴⁶ Going without companion, coming without partner, with little preparation and few belongings, lonely and not joining others, is what makes him spotless. Protected, he independently reaches the utmost, transmits the about-to-be-so of the not-yet-had, guides the structure⁴⁷ of the imperceptible beginning. (18:114/1-5)⁴⁸

Precisely what the sage does may be too subtle for an average reader to grasp, but it certainly belongs to the yin-like side of reality described in chapter 3 of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. The passage is followed by the sage's concrete political decisions and regulations that accord with fixed time limits.

It is striking that, whenever the author identifies a person with this subtle influence, it never concerns an actual ruler. Only in the mythical past, before the age of hereditary rule, were there rulers who ordered their people so effectively that the subjects failed to

notice their presence. In chapter 11, "Supreme Indistinctness" (*Tai lu*), He guan zi's plan of an alternative society in which teachers and worthies occupy the throne (see p. 124) continues:

That one reigns by changing surnames, and becomes lord without using the ancestral inheritance, is because one desires to share the security of the one good.⁴⁹ Only when heaven and earth move and act in his bosom, work is completed outside. Only when the myriad things go and come through him, he generates them without harm. He opens and closes the four seasons, guides and shifts yin and yang ... and the empire considers it as so-of-itself. (11:79/2-7, tr. Graham, 1989.H:526, 514-15)

The cosmic ruler functions as a gate through which everyone and everything comes and goes, including the four seasons, yin and yang. His influence is so subtle that his healing effects go unnoticed.

The highest of the five policies (*wu zheng*) advocated by Pheasant Cap Master is called "Spiritual Transformation" (*shen hua* 神化). It lies in the "not-yet-had" and is attributed to "Majesty of Energy" (*Qi Huang*):

Spiritual transformation fixes heaven and earth, determines⁵⁰ the four seasons, promotes yin and yang, and shifts winter and summer. The fixed and fluid arise side by side, the myriad things get no harm, the myriad kinds are completed.⁵¹ (8:47/4-6, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:125-26)

The unnoticed effects of this subtle influence are also attributed to Supreme One (*Tai Yi*) and the Nine Majesties (*Jiu Huang*):

They saw it, but did not in detail work at the outside realm of names and patterns. They schematized the shapeless and tasted the flavorless, and thereby took as crucial the meeting-point of name and pattern.⁵² The schema (*fan* 𠄎) of flavor, flavor is the parent of energy, the quintessential minute is the beginning of heaven and earth. Without seeing their shape or traces,⁵³ the empire turned to them.⁵⁴ (11:75/3-8, part. tr. Graham, 1989:526)

This passage might suggest that the "schema" is some abstract norm that stands behind concrete reality. The two parallel cases indicate, however, that the author did not think in terms of such a strict separation. The relationship between the schema and flavor is parallel, first, to flavor giving birth to *qi* and, second, to the quintessential minute functioning as the beginning of heaven and earth. This double parallelism indicates that the schema differs from flavor only gradually, not absolutely—unless one is intent on curing the author of his inability to think in abstract terms by adapting the last two cases to a dualistic interpretation of the first. Chapter 3 associates the five flavors with harmony (3:6/10).⁵⁵ And in chapter 10, harmony (*he* 和) is described as "shapeless but with flavor" (10:73/5) and presented as a model for coordinating society. Graham therefore believes that schemas (*fan*) "are models not for regulations but for the harmonizing of flavors from which spring the shared enjoyments of a harmonious society, starting from the One prior to all shapes and flavors" (Graham, 1989.H:526). While the schema may stand for the right proportion of ingredients that optimizes the positive influence of flavor, flavors, in turn, generate the energy that food provides for the body.

Whenever this type of subtle and powerful influence is attributed to someone other than the nonhereditary or mythical ruler, it is expressed explicitly as an ideal or described as the opposite of the actual ruler. Chapter 4, "Heaven's Model" (*Tian ze*), presents several "aims" or "expectations" (*qi* 期). One of them concerns the ruler's charisma flowing through the empire without obstruction like the moon's influence on clams and mussels in the ocean (4:12/ 9-10).⁵⁶

Before any order, they know what to do; before any command, they know where to go. Although the person above imposes no tasks, the people of themselves do their utmost best. This is the aim of transformation. (4:13/1-2)⁵⁷

The ruler who arbitrarily distributes titles and imposes high demands on his ministers without loving them is a negative model (see p. 187).

Those who discuss affairs after they have come up, are not able to cause the changes not to have arisen. Hence, who is good at

measuring changes, observes the roots. If the root is sufficient, then all is complete; if not, then power is sure to wane, and the army sure to weaken. . . . The fact that, even when one is artful in civil matters (*wen*) and fruitful in the military (*wu*), treason still does not stop, arises from insufficient roots (8:42/9-43/3, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:105).

Despite the fact that since the installation of hereditary rule no ruler had realized such an influence on his realm, there are still persons, even in the present generation, who order the world from an imperceptible level. But they are unknown because they have remained nameless in more than one sense.

The Unknown Sage in a Disordered Age

Since the establishment of hereditary rule, true sages can no longer become kings. Therefore, they withdraw to obscurity, knowing that in a decadent age the best reputation is to have no reputation at all. He guan zi's view on the unnamed source of names elevates the ignored adviser to the highest realm. Because the person who truly generates order proceeds effectively by night, he is never appreciated by ordinary men.

A sage starts things off in heaven, and receives them on earth. When residing in heaven, [⁵⁸he does not "thing" (*bu wu* 不物).⁵⁹ of the foolish, no one trusts him. When residing on earth, he has completed a shape: the foolish would definitely⁶⁰ die for him.⁶¹ The sage engages in affairs from the not-yet-sprouted;⁶² the foolish engages in affairs from the already-completed. (11:81/1-*Yong le da dian*, 19743:1b8-2a2)

Foolish people, including most rulers, see reality only when it has clearly taken shape. At that level, they would follow the sage if they were able to recognize him. But when the sage acts at a subtler level prior to a situation taking shape, the people around him are too deluded to respect him.

The adviser's failure to make a reputation is thus associated with the impossibility of naming the true ruler. The sage has no

name because he cannot be named: he stands completely above all competition:

To give him a name, is coarse; to compare him with a reputation, is exterior: these are things that an utmost sage dislikes. He goes deep into the minute, and enters the spirit. Therefore, while his tracks can be walked (*dao*), his achievements cannot be reached. (11: *Yong le da dian*, 19743:2a3)

By leaving his tracks on the finest level, the sage generates the way, which people spontaneously follow as if there were nobody guiding them.

The unnamed source of names is also compared with the sun and moon. As the source of light for others, no light ever shines upon him:

The one who, holding up heaven and earth, ⁶³ is able to roam, call him "a man who contains names"⁶⁴ but is not contained by a name." A luminary shining with lumen and shining with brightness, but not able to shine on himself, that's what he is. ⁶⁵ (17:103/7-9)

Chapter 16, "Worthies of the Age" (*Shi xian*), contains the clearest expression of this inversely proportional relationship between powerful influence and reputation. We saw that Pang Xuan presented to King Daoxiang a medical analogy explaining that the most well-known doctor is often the least capable (see p. 128):

My oldest brother, with a disease, watches the spirits and dispels them before they take shape. Therefore his name does not go beyond the family. When my second brother cures a disease, he attends to the fine hair on the skin. Therefore, his name does not go beyond the ghetto. Someone like Bian Que acupunctures people's veins, prescribes them drugs and herbs, and cuts skin and flesh . . . , and his name is heard among the feudal lords. (16:101/10-102/7, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:242-43)⁶⁶

Hence the advice:

Rule them without name;
order them without shape.

The completion of the utmost success, those below
 him call it "so-of-itself." Thus, a good doctor
 transforms them; a clumsy doctor spoils them.
 (16:103/1-2, tr. Neugebauer, 1986:244) ⁶⁷

In his presentation of the realm beyond names, He guan zi is one of the late Zhou authors who construct an ontological version of the perennial paradox concerning the unnamed namer. Thus far, his perspective on the realm beyond names could be seen as a defense of the ordinary ruler. His insistence on the uniqueness of the ruler's position as the source of order, combined with his positive fascination with the fact that political names are ultimately without foundation, might be seen as an obstacle for any opposition wielding foundational arguments. But rather than appealing to *absolute* principles, Chinese authors of the third and second centuries B.C. tended to advance their criticism by claiming a *relative* superiority. He guan zi's advocacy of the sage as the true but hidden ruler is such a criticism. He does not appeal to a vision of absolute truth but to a more subtle view of and influence on reality. This may be why his manifesto of political opposition contains not any impulse to revolutionary action but only a passive defense of the most reasonable decision for the unheeded adviser to take: stay away from the political scene.

APPENDIX 1
Taboos: The Distribution of zheng and duan in the He guan zi

Chapter	zheng 正 (correct)	zheng 政 (policy)	duan 端	
			for zheng	for itself
ch. 1			1	
ch. 2			1	
ch. 3		1		
ch. 4	1	5		
ch. 5	1	1		
ch. 6	4	2		
ch. 7	3			
ch. 8	10	1		2? ¹
ch. 9	12 ²	2		
ch. 10	8 ³	5		4 ⁴
ch. 11	1			1
ch. 12	5			
ch. 13		1		
ch. 14	1	1 ⁶		1
ch. 15			1	1
ch. 16				
ch. 17	1			
ch. 18	2			
ch. 19				

APPENDIX 2

The Distribution of Names in the *He guan zi*

Giving few names or references is one of the most striking characteristics of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. The very unequal distribution of names in the text is also remarkable. The following tables illustrate the discrepancy. The first four give all proper names in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, grouped in "names of individuals," "collective proper names," and "geographical names." Because of the predominance of the ruler-subject relationship in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the first category is further divided into "rulers"—from legendary to historical—and "subjects," containing ministers, generals, teachers, doctors, and so forth. To the left are the names; to the right is the location in the *Pheasant Cap Master*.⁷

*Names of individuals: Rulers*⁸

Unadorned Majestic Inner Emperor (<i>Su Huang</i> 9:61 <i>Nei Di</i> 泰皇內帝)	
Nine Majesties (<i>Jiu Huang</i> 九皇) ⁹	4:11; 10:65, 66; 11:75
Supreme Majesty (<i>Tai Huang</i> 泰皇)	10:66
Supreme One (<i>Tai Yi</i> 泰一) ¹⁰	10:65, 66(3×), 71; 11:74, 75
Cheng Jiu 成鳩 (the mythical ruler of ch. 9 of the <i>He guan zi</i>)	9:48, 49, 50(2×), 51, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64

Names of individuals: Rulers ⁸

Yu 禹 (the legendary founder of the Xia dynasty)	12:82
The Yellow Emperor (<i>Huang Di</i> 皇帝) (a pre-dynastic emperor—see 3.2)	
Yao 堯 (a pre-dynastic emperor following the Yellow Emperor)	12:82, 88; 13:91(3×); 16:101
Shun 舜 (a pre-dynastic emperor, following Yao)	12:88; 13:91
Jie 桀 (the degenerate terminator of the Xia dynasty)	12:83
Tang 湯 (the virtuous founder of the Shang dynasty)	12:83; 13:91, 93, 94; 19:120
Zhou (Xin) 紂辛 (the degenerate terminator of the Shang dynasty)	12:83; 13:94
King Wen 文王 (virtuous founder of the Zhou dynasty)	12:89, 90
King Wu 武王 (military founder of the Zhou dynasty)	12:83, 90; 13:91, 94(2×); 16:101
Duke Huan 桓 (lord of Qi—r. 683-41—and first hegemon)	12:84(2×); 16:102
King of Chu 楚王	16:100, 101 ¹¹
Gou Jian 勾踐 ¹²	12:88, 90; 19:120
Fu Chai 夫差 ¹³	12:88
King Xiang 襄工 ¹⁴	19:121
Marquis Wen of Wei 魏文侯 (424-387)	16:101(2×), 102
King Wuling 武靈王 (see 2.3)	19:119(2×), 121
King Daoxiang 悼襄王 (see 2.3)	16:100, 101(2×), 103
Lord of Lu 魯君 (7th century)	12:84, 85
King of Yan 燕王 (3rd century)	12:86

Names of individuals: Subjects

Bian Que 扁鵲 ¹⁵	16:101(3×), 102(3×)
Yu Fu 俞跗 ¹⁶	16:100, 101
Cang Jie 倉頡 ¹⁷	7:38(3×); 9:62
Chi You 蚩尤 ¹⁸	12:82
Bo Yi 申徒狄 ¹⁹	13:90
Ji zi 荃叔 ²⁰	13:92
Wu Lai 子胥 ²²	13:94(2×)
Yi Yin 太公 ²³	12:83; 13:93, 94; 16:101
Guan zi 仲 ²⁴	12:83, 89, 90; 13:93; 16:101, 102
Shen Biao 百里奚 ²⁵	13:93; 16:101
Yuan Ji 范蠡 ²⁶	16:101
Cao Mo 子 ²⁷	12:84(4×), 85(2×)
Ju Xin 劇辛 ²⁸	12:85(2×), 86
Pheasant Cap Master or He guan zi 鶡冠子 (see 2.3)	often in chs. 7-9, 14-15
Pang zi 龐子 (see 2.3)	often in chs. 7-9, 14-15
Pang Huan 龐煊 (see 2.3)	19:119(2×), but not in the <i>Yiwen leiju</i> variant (see ch. 2)
(Pang) Xuan 龐煊 ²⁹	16:100(2×), 101(2×)

Collective names

You Miao 有唐 ³⁰		12:82
Barbarians	Yi 猃	9:61, 63
	Man 蠻 and Yi	2:4
Zhi clan 蚍 ³²		19:120
Yin 殷 ³³		16:101; 19:120
Zhou 周 ³⁴		13:93; 19:120

Geographical names

Hán 韓 ³⁵		19:120
Lu 魯		12:84
Yan 燕		12:85(2×)
Jin 鄆		16:101
Zhao 趙		12:85
Wu 吳		12:88; 19:120(2×)
Yue 越		12:88; 16:101; 19:120
Sui 隋		16:100 ³⁶
Qin 秦		13:93; 16:101
Chu 楚		13:93; 19:120
Qi 齊		12:84; 13:93; 16:101
Chen 蔡 ³⁷		19:120
Mount Tai (<i>Tai shan</i> 太山)		4:16; 18:116
Kuaiji 會稽 ³⁸		12:88

Distribution of names in the He guan zi

<i>Chapter in the Pheasant Cap Master</i>	<i>Number of names ³⁹</i>
ch. 1	0
ch. 2	1
ch. 3	0
ch. 4	2
ch. 5	0
ch. 6	0
ch. 7	3
ch. 8	2
ch. 9	5
ch. 10	3
ch. 11	2
ch. 12	29
ch. 13	24
ch. 14	2
ch. 15	2
ch. 16	21
ch. 17	0
ch. 18	1
ch. 19	15

The last table illustrates the unequal distribution of the names over the nineteen chapters.

APPENDIX 3
Bibliographical Evidence in Sources from the Han through the Yuan ⁴⁰

<i>Source (all dates are A.D.)</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Filiation</i>
<i>Qi lüe</i> 稽謫 (see 2.1)		
<i>Han shu</i> 篇	<i>dao jia</i> (see 2.1, 3.2)	
<i>Zi chao</i> 卷		
<i>Sui shu</i> 隋書, 34.1001 (7th c.) ⁴²	3 <i>juan</i>	<i>dao jia</i>
<i>Gu jin shu lu</i> 古今書錄 (8th c.) ⁴³	36 <i>pian</i> (probably 3 <i>juan</i> and 16 <i>pian</i>) ⁴⁴	
<i>Han Changli ji</i> 形名		

<i>Source (all dates are A.D.)</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Filiation</i>
<i>Jiu Tang shu</i> 舊唐書 (887-946) and others	3 <i>juan</i>	<i>dao jia</i>
<i>Chong wen zong mu</i> 文獻通考, 211:1734c.	15 <i>pian</i>	
<i>Xin Tang shu</i> 新唐書		
<i>He guan zi xu</i> 陸佃 (1042-1102) in every extant complete edition	19 <i>plan</i> , with the titles of chs. 1 and 19 ⁴⁶	Going from <i>Huang lao</i> to <i>xing ming</i>
<i>Jun zhai du shu zhi</i> 袁 ed., completed in 1151	15 <i>pian</i>	
<i>Jun zhai du shu zhi</i> , 11.12a, in the Qu 衢 ed., completed in 1249 ⁴⁷	19 <i>pian</i> , 3 <i>juan</i> ⁴⁸	
<i>Zhi zhai shu lu jie ti</i> 直齋書錄解題, 9.280 completed after 1240	19 <i>pian</i> (of Lu Dian)	
<i>Huang shi ri chao</i> 黃履 (1213-80)	15 <i>pian</i> , including ch. 15	
<i>Yu hai</i> 王應麟 (1223-96)	4 <i>juan</i> , going from ch. 1 to ch. 15	
<i>Han yi wen zhi kao</i> (zheng) 漢書文志考證, 6.9a, by Wang Yinglin (1223-96)	4 <i>juan</i> and 15 <i>pian</i> , going from ch. 1 to ch. 15	
<i>Wen xian tong kao</i> , 211.1734a, completed in 1308	8 <i>juan</i>	

<i>Source (all dates are A.D.)</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Filiation</i>
<i>Song shi</i> 宋史, 205.5180, completed in 1345	3 <i>juan</i>	<i>dao jia</i>
<i>Zhu zi bian</i> 諸子辯, 7, with a preface from 1358	4 <i>juan</i> . Song Lian's personal edition had 15 <i>pian</i> , but he is aware of others	He quotes what he calls <i>Huang lao</i> ideas

APPENDIX 4
Indirect Evidence in Sources Predating the First Extant Complete Edition ⁴⁹

Quotes (all A.D.) *Quoted from the Pheasant Cap Master*

In commentaries to other works

<i>Shi ji ji jie</i> 表解 (mid-5th c.):	Ch. 1 (and 18):
<i>Shi ji</i> , 6.277	1:3/1-2 (also in 18:118/8-9)
<i>Li ji zheng yi</i> 禮記正義, (652):	Ch. 8:
22.16a	8:44/4
<i>Wen xuan zhu</i> 幸菴 (ca. 700) in <i>Wen xuan</i> ,	Chs. 1, 5, 6, 8, 11, and 12:
3.33b5	8:45/3-4
5.34b9	8:45/3
6.16b4	8:45/3
9.28b9	12:87/10
12.8a4	8:45/3
13.21b9	12:88/4
13.22a2-3	12:87/7
13.22a4	12:88/1
13.22a6	12:88/6

*Quotes (all A.D.)**Quoted from the Pheasant Cap Master***In commentaries to other works**

13.22a9	12:88/7
13.23a2	12:88/1
13.23a3	12:88/4
13.23a6-7	12:87/7-8
13.23b2	12:89/3
13.23b4	12:87/8
13.23b4	12:87/9
13.24a4	12:87/2-3
13.24a8	12:88/4-5
13.24a9	12:88/8
13.24b2	12:89/5-6
13.24b9	12:89/4
13.24b9	12:87/9
13.24b10	12:89/4
13.25a7	12:86/10
13.25a8	12:88/9-10
13.25a10	12:87/10
13.25b3	12:89/2-3
13.25b8	12:89/8-9
13.27b3	6:30/10
13.27b6	12:87/10
13.32a5	12:87/10
14.17b10	12:88/1
17.8b8	11:80/2
18.7a10	10:70/10-71/1
18.38a1	8:45/3
18.41b1	5:23/10
20.42a8	12:88/8
21.1a9	12:88/8
21.7b5	12:88/5
21.16a3	11:80/2
23.12a5	12:88/1
24.4b8	8:45/3
25.2a1	8:45/3
25.23b7	12:88/8
26.18b4	12:88/4
29.30a8	not in the extant text ⁵⁰
30.16b1	6:31/9 commentary
34.32a8	8:45/4-5

*Quoted from the Pheasant Cap Master**Quotes (all A.D.)***In commentaries to other works**

38.29a8	12:83/1-3
47.16a8	1:3/4-5
49.13b1	1:1/10
52.3b5	6:31/5-6
54.20b4	12:88/1
58.22a7	1:1/10-2/2
60.29a9	12:87/10
60.31a3	11:80/2
<i>Wen xuan zhu</i> , by Li Zhouhan 李周翰 (before 718) in <i>Wen xuan</i> :	Ch. 10:
18.7a10	10:70/10-71/1
<i>Shi ji suo yin</i> 司馬貞 (fl. 710) in <i>Shi ji</i> :	Ch. 12:
86.2537	12:83/1
<i>Yin fu jing ji zhu</i> 李筌 (mid-8th c.)	Ch. 1:
10/11	1:3/7
<i>Gong yang zhuan zheng yi</i> 徐彦 (n.d.) and probably completed after 824:	Ch. 8:
28.8b:	44/4-5
<i>Lu shi zhu</i> 前記:	Chs. 4, 9, and 11:
2.3a	4:IV, 11/4-9
3.2b	10:68/5-69/2
3.7a	10:66/4
3.7a ⁵¹	10:65/4-8
7.1a	10:75/1-5
7.1a	9:48/7-10, 50/4-5

In encyclopedias

<i>Yi wen lei ju</i> 藝文類聚 (624):	Chs. 4, 8, 12, 17, and 19:
2.34	4:16/3-4
19.345	19:119/3-4
35.636	12:83/1
85.1453	4:16/3-4

*Quotes (all A.D.)**Quoted from the Pheasant Cap Master***In encyclopedias**

90.1558	8:44/3-4, 6
97.1683	17:105/9-10
98.1697	8:45/3-4
98.1706	8:44/4-5, 6
<i>Chu xue ji</i> 初學記 (725):	Ch. 8:
30.3b	8:44/3-4, 6
<i>Tai ping yu lan</i> 太平御覽 (983): ⁵²	Chs. 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, and 18:
12.9b	8:45/3-4
13.4b	4:16/1-4
19.3b	5:21/2
21.5a	5:21/2
24.8a	5:21/2-3
27.2b	5:21/3
366.3a	4:16/3-4
375.6a	16:101/8-9, 102/1-7 (shortened)
401.7a	11:78/1-2 (also in 18:116/2-3)
403.7a	1:3/1-2
404.7a	12:83/1-4
485.8a	not in the extant text ⁵³
633.10a	6:27/8 (shortened)
724.4b	16:101/8-9, 102/1-7 (shortened)
832.8a	12:88/5
841.4a	4:16/3-4
872.9a	8:45/3-4
873.4a	8:45/3-4
873.7a	8:45/3-4
915.7b	8:44/3-4, 6
<i>Xiao xue gan zhu</i> 小學紺珠 (13th c.):	Ch. 1 (and 18):
1.12	1:1/5
3.91	1:3/1-2 (also in 18:118/8-9)
3.113	1:1/5-6 and 2/5-3/1 ⁵⁴
<i>Yong le da dian</i> 永樂大典 (1408) (see 5.3):	Ch. 11:
19743. 1a-2a	11:74/7-81/10

*Quoted from the Pheasant Cap Master**Quotes (all A.D.)***In anthologies**

<i>Qun shu zhi yao</i> 群書之要 (631) (see 5.3):	Chs. 1, 2, and 16:
34.16b-17a	1:1/3-3/1
34.17b	2:4/8-5/2
34.17b-18a	16:100/7-102/8
<i>Yi lin</i> 意林 (787): ⁵⁵	Chs. 13 and 16:
Suppl. 1:1a	16:101/8-10
Suppl. 2:3a	13:30/30-31/1
Suppl. 2:3a	16:101/8-10

In other sources

<i>Du He guan zi</i> 韓愈原集:	Chs. 1 and 15 (paraphrases):
11.15b	1:1/5, 6
11.15b	15:100/2-3
<i>Bian He guan zi</i> 柳河東集 ⁵⁶	Ch. 12 (paraphrase):
4.10b	12:89/6
<i>Huang shi ri chao</i> 黃裳 (1213-80):	Chs. 1, 3, 4, 7, and 15:
55.28b6	3:7/8
55.28b7-8	6:30-1
55.28b8	7:34/6
55.29a1-3	1:2/5-8
55.29a3-4	15:110/2
<i>Zi lüe</i> 子略, a catalogue of the early 13th c.:	Chs. 6, 7, and 8:
3.5a1-2	6:32/7
3.5a2	7:33/6
3.5a3-4	8:44/3-6 (shortened)

APPENDIX 5

The Chapters of the He guan zi

<i>Chapter</i> ⁵⁷	<i>Title</i>	<i>Length of text and commentary</i>	<i>General remarks</i>	<i>Translations of complete chapters</i> ⁵⁸
1 E	Broad Selection (<i>Bo xuan</i> 博選)	25 lines	Long parallel with the <i>Zhan guo ce</i> , 29; quoted in <i>Qun shu zhi yao</i>	W:191-93; 206-15. V:66-68.
2 E	Calling Attention to the Rare (<i>Zhu xi</i> 著希)	26 lines	Quoted in <i>Qun shu zhi yao</i>	W:193-95; 215-23. V:69-71.
3 E	Procedure by Night (<i>Ye xing</i> 夜行)	12 lines	Many quotes from the <i>Lao zi</i>	W:195-96; 223-28. V:72-73.
4 E	Heaven's Model (<i>Tian ze</i> 天則)	116 lines	Long parallel with the <i>Guan zi</i> , 4	W:196-205; 228-48. V:74-86.
5 E	Circular Flow (<i>Huan liu</i> 環流)	62 lines		V:87-94.

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Length of text and commentary</i>	<i>General remarks</i>	<i>Translations of complete chapters</i>
6 E	Starting-point of the Way (<i>Dao duan</i> 道端)	73 lines		V:95-102.
7 D	Surpassed from Nearby (<i>Jin die</i> 近迭) ⁵⁹	62 lines		N:68-91. V:103-108.
8 D	Measuring the Myriad Things (<i>Duo wan</i> 度萬)	89 lines		N:92-131. V:109-19.
9 D	Kingly Blade (<i>Wang fu</i> 王鉢)	166 lines	Long and corrupt parallel with <i>Guan zi</i> , 20 and <i>Guo yu</i> , 6	N:132-211. V:120-38.
10 E	Supreme Flood (<i>Tai hong</i> 泰鴻)	93 lines		V:139-50.
11 E	Supreme Indistinctness (<i>Tai lu</i> 泰錄) ⁶⁰	73 lines (+9 lines of the <i>Yong le da dian</i>)	Adding the <i>Yong le da dian</i> quote	V:151-58.
12 E	Arms of the Age (<i>Shi bing</i> 世兵)	82 lines	Parallel passages with <i>Zhan guo ce</i> , 13, and with <i>Fu niao fu</i>	
13 E	Complete Knowledge (<i>Bei zhi</i> 備知)	41 lines		
14	Military	24 lines		N:212-21.

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Length of text and commentary</i>	<i>General remarks</i>	<i>Translations of complete chapters</i>
D	Policy (<i>Bing zheng</i> 兵政)			
15 D	Learning (<i>Xue wen</i> 學問)	35 lines		N:222-35.
16 D	Worthies of the Age (<i>Shi xian</i> 世賢)	28 lines	Added from the <i>Pang Xuan</i> texts?	N:236-45.
17 E	Heavenly Assessment (<i>Tian quan</i> 天權)	98 lines		
18 E	Able to "Heaven" (<i>Neng tian</i> 能天)	56 lines		
19 D	King Wuling (<i>Wuling wang</i> 武靈王)	25 lines	Added from the <i>Pang Xuan</i> texts?	N:246-59.

NOTES

Preface

1. For the two basic senses of *rhetoric* pointed out by Aristotle, see *Rhetorica*, I, i/1-3, tr. Freese (1967:3). For the "rhetorical" as opposed to the "philosophical" approach, I have mainly followed Fish (1989) and IJsseling (1976) (see pp. 5-10).
2. See Knechtges (1976:21-22) and Crump (1964:100-101). These authors do not deny the rhetorical nature of Chinese texts but, on the contrary, stress it in other senses of the word.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. For the first, see Wu Guang (1985:158) and p. 84; for the second, see Needham (1956:547) and pp. 198-201.
2. See *Si ku ti yao*, 2455; Yu Yue (1899); Sun Yirang (1895); and Wang Kaiyun (1919). Western sinologists joined the discussion: see Alfred Forke (1964:520-30); Bernard Karlgren (1929:167-169); Henri Maspero (1933:41-42); Gustav Haloun (1951:88 n. 2); Joseph Needham (1956:547); and Charles Gardner (1961:29).
3. For a description and discussion of the manuscripts, see Peerenboom (1993). Tang Lan (1975:8-9) has suggested the identification of these manuscripts with the long-lost *Huang di si jing* 皇帝四經 (*Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor*), mentioned in the *Han shu*, 30.1730. For reasons of convenience, I will sometimes refer to the "four *Silk Manuscripts*" as if they form a unity, with the necessary reservations that such a reference demands when considering pre-Han or early Han texts.
4. Theses on the textual complexities include Vittinghoff (1981), with a translation of chapters 1-11 (pp. 66-159); Neugebauer (1986), with trans-

lations and annotations of all the dialogical chapters: 7-9, 14-16, and 19 (pp. 68-259); Williams (1987), with translations and annotations of chapters 1-4 (pp. 190-248); and Defoort (1993:1-217). For sinological discussions, see Li Xueqin (1983:55-56) and (1992); Chen Keming (1980:224-30); Du Baoyuan (1984:51-53); Wu Guang (1985:151-58); Tan Jiajian (1986:57-58); Yan Wenru (1987); He Fengqi and Wang Hongsheng (1987); Graham (1989.H:497-509); Ogata * (1983) and (1982:43-45); and Loewe (1994:137-40).

5. Scholars who attribute a relatively high degree of unity to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, having pruned some dubious chapters from the text, are Ogata* (1982:45); Li Xueqin (1992:337); Neugebauer (1986:30-32); Williams (1987:48-51); and Graham (1989.H:503).

6. Articles, chapters, or papers that focus mainly on the content of the *Pheasant Cap Master* are Hosokawa (1979); Chen Kerning (1980:224-45); Ogata* (1982:43-65); Du Baoyuan (1984:51-60); Tan Jiajian (1986:57-62); Graham (1989.H:509-29); Peerenboom (1991); Graham (1992) and (1993); and Defoort (1993:218-453). General works on Chinese philosophy including some information on the *Pheasant Cap Master* are: Forke (1964:530-36); Hackmann (1927:222-23); Wieger (1917:248-49) and (1930:330); Wu Guang (1985:158-66); and Graham (1989:215-17, 295-96, 305). Articles or chapters only marginally focusing on its content are: Rand (1979-80:206-11); Vittinghoff (1981:47-59); and Williams (1987:115-24).

7. Grice (1975:41-58) explains the principle of cooperation by appeal to the four maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and modality: the listener or reader assumes the utterance to be informative, true, relevant, and clear.

8. Therefore, and also for reasons of simplicity, I will refer to the person or group as "Pheasant Cap Master" or "the author of the *Pheasant Cap Master*."

9. An indication of this "quarrel" is that the term *rhetoric* is not among the keyterms in Paul Edwards's *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. The term *metaphysical* has many meanings in the Western tradition. See the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, V:289-307. I have used the term to refer to the philosophical trend that studies abstract reality beyond (*meta*) the concrete, physical world. "Metaphysics" associated with Western mainstream "philosophy" was criticized by continental philosophers such as Nietzsche and Heidegger (see IJsseling, 1976:93-114) and by Anglo-Saxon philosophers such as Moore and Wittgenstein (see Edwards, 1976.V:305-6).

10. Considering that no philosophically unburdened terms exist, one cannot avoid Western terminology. The contrast by which the term *rhetoric*

will be qualified in four consecutive steps is not meant as a comparative study between East and West.

11. For these two basic senses of *rhetoric* pointed out by Aristotle, see the preface.

Chapter 2: Biographical Evidence

1. *Feng su tong yi, yi wen* 藝文 (extant fragments), 5 in Wang Liqi (1988:554).
2. On the *Qi lüe*, see Thompson (1979:127 nn. 3, 5) and van der Loon (1952:364-66).
3. This person is otherwise unknown. The commentary (19:119/3) indicates *Xuan* as a variant of *Huan*, as it is also in the indirect evidence from *Yi wen lei ju*, 19:345/3. I will refer to this person as Pang X^Huan. For speculations on his identity, see pp. 26-27.
4. The *he* is not an ordinary pheasant. Williams (1987) calls it a "snow-pheasant"; De Saussure (1910:615), a "Phasianus superbus"; Mansvelt Beck (1990:252), a "longtailed pheasant." Illustrations and descriptions, however, indicate that the two standing feathers were short. See Shen (1981:48-50); Zhou (1984:64, 78, 129, 169); and Sun (1991:233-36).
5. A negative piece of evidence is the fact that the *Pheasant Cap Master* is never explicitly acknowledged by any pre-Han author or by Sima Qian. Before the fifth century A.D., the *Pheasant Cap Master* is never explicitly quoted. That Warring States philosophers do not attack it in their series of critiques, that syncretists never adopt it in their lists of partial truths, and that even Sima Qian does not mention it has caused suspicion about its dates and authenticity.
6. For the phonological similarity between *Feng* 鳳 (lewng) in ancient Chinese, see Zhou Fagao (1982:399, 89). On the confusion between Pang Xuan and Feng Xuan, the retainer of Lord Mengchang of Qi, see Qian Mu (1986:481). The *Lie xian zhuan*, a Daoist biography of seventy-one individuals said to have attained the state of immortality, is traditionally attributed to Liu Xiang but was probably composed by a Daoist of the third or fourth century A.D. See Wylie (1964:218).
7. For the rhyme pattern particular to the Chu dialect, see Long Hui (1975:29). For parallel texts, see Long Hui (1975:30) and Li Xueqin (1983:56).

8. The terms occur in 9:54-55. The argument is mentioned by, among others, Tan Jiajian (1986:57), Li Xueqin (1983:56), and Graham (1989.H:506). For the relation of the two terms to Chu, see Crump (1979:277): *zhu guo* occurs on pp. 39, 167, 259-60, 277, and 361—in all, except the last, related to the state of Chu, and in the last to Zhao under King Daoxiang (265-245 B.C.). *Ling yin* occurs on pp. 236, 277, and 469, all related to Chu.
9. For some of these defenses, see Wu Guang (1985:156-57); Neugebauer (1986:48-54); and Du Baoyuan (1984:59).
10. For the translation of this title, see appendix 5.
11. Emending *shi* 富 (wealthy) following the repetition of this line in 7:35/4 and in parallel texts referred to below.
12. For an identification of the losing state with Chu, see also Wu Guang (1985:162) and Tan Jiajian (1986:60). Graham (1989.H:508) and Ogata * (1982:45) reason in the same direction but do not explicitly mention Chu (see also p. 130).
13. *Huai nan zi*, 15:5b, tr. Morgan (1969:192-93) and *Xun zi*, 7:18/17, tr. Knoblock (1990:59). Less explicit are *Guan zi*, 64:11b, tr. Rickett (1985:82); *Shang jun shu*, 3.8a, tr. Duyvendak (1974:186); and a very lacunary passage in the *Jing fa*, 4:8b-9a, tr. Zhang (1993:235). For the bad reputation of Chu in this respect, see Walker (1953:54); for the rivalry between the states of Qin and Chu, see Loewe (1986:657).
14. See Neugebauer (1986:54) and Graham (1989.H:506).
15. For the above-mentioned scholars, see Zhang Xincheng (1957:861-64).
16. Besides Tan Jiajian (1984:58), who supports a late Zhou dating, all others use this argument for a Han dating of the text: see Hosokawa (1979:11-13); Chen Kerning (1980:224); and Du Baoyuan (1984:52). Graham (1989.H:504) attributes an early syncretism to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, along with the *Lü shi chun qiu* of 240 B.C.
17. Arguing for pre-Qin are, for instance, Wu Guang (1985:162-64); Tan Jiajian (1986:59); and Hosokawa (1979:13). Arguing for the Han are Chen Kerning (1980:226, 230-35) and Du Baoyuan (1984:53).
18. For some of these terms, see Needham (1956:544-62).
19. According to Graham (1986.Y:83), *yin yang* did not enter the world of philosophers until after 300 B.C. In the *Pheasant Cap Master* it occurs twenty-two times. The term *wu xing* is used five times, but the

concrete correlations occur more often. According to Graham (1986.Y:8-9) again, the absence of order in the correlations indicates a relatively early date.

20. I will do this briefly in p. 247 n. 17, when discussing the hypothesis of conflation. For the original lists of criteria, see Graham (1986.S:249-64) and Karlgren (1926:35-49).

21. The Syncretist chapters of the *Zhuang zi* as identified by Graham are chapters 11 (partial), 12, 13, 14 (partial), and 33. See Graham (1986.S:313-21).

22. See in 15:99/7. The expression "*xu zheng* 端王王 in 10:68/6. Zhang Jincheng (1975:712) follows the *Lu shi* variants. See also appendix 4.

23. About the meaning of *qi* 神明 is alternatively treated as one or two entities (*shen and ming*). Because they are divine spirits as well as exceptionally powerful men, or a combination of both, a translation of the term is difficult. For He guan zi's specification of the terms separately, see p. 151.

24. The first occurrence is in 1:2/1, "*Jun ye, duan shen ming zhe ye* 位.

25. On the question of when the *zheng* taboo was freely observed and when it was officially enforced, see Mansvelt Beck (1987:76); Lau (1988.T:224); and Chen Yuan (1963:130). On the loose application of taboo-rules during Qin and Han, see Chen Yuan (1963:2-3, 129).

26. Crucial parts of Graham's alternative order will be discussed in 304. The oldest direct and indirect textual evidence for the present order of chapters dates from the seventh century A.D.: (1) a Dun huang manuscript predating the Sui dynasty and copied in A.D. 629 and (2) indirect evidence in the *Qun shu zhi yao*, presented to the throne in A.D. 631.
27. Ogata * (1983:20-22) rejects these four chapters as inauthentic because of their abundance of names. Wieger (1917:237) suspects that the defeat in 242 B.C. is forged into the text. The chapters containing the Pangs are viewed with suspicion by Wang Kaiyun; and those with Pang Xuan and Pang Huan, by Wu Guang, Neugebauer, Graham, Williams, and Ogata*, among others (see pp. 41-43).
28. For Pang Xuan's military exploits, see *Shi ji*, 34.1560, 43.1831, and 81.2450-51, tr. Yang (1979:150). Qian Mu (1986:483-84) dates him 295-240 B.C. For more discussion of his identification, see Neugebauer (1986:56-64).
29. See, for instance, Li Xueqin (1992:336); Forke (1964:529); and Faber (1875:20). Williams (1987:1-24) dedicates a whole chapter to "He guan zi, the man and his disciple," and calculates several possible dates for the Master, all between 340 and 230 B.C., depending on the identification of the Pangs. Qian Mu (1986:482-83) believes that Pang zi is Lord Linwu 龐璆 from *Han fei zi*, 19; tr. Liao (1959:I:157).
30. After being listed in the bibliographic chapter of the *Han shu* with two chapters under the *zong heng* (Diplomats) and three under the *quan mou* (Tactics and Strategy), no trace is left of them in the later bibliographies (see p. 41).
31. For such hypotheses of multiple authorship, see, for instance, Wu Guang (1985:157); Du Baoyuan (1984:51, 59); and Li Xueqin (1983:56).
32. This is similar to the dissident Mohists, whose writings have ended up in one book. This hypothesis could have been at the back of Yuan Shu's mind when he claimed in his *Zhen yin zhuan* that Pheasant Cap Master broke with Pang Xuan when the latter became illustrious in Zhao and wanted to recommend him. The dissent may have focused around alternative strategies of political influence: as an aggressive, illustrious military adviser compromising with the demands of reality or as a defensive and uncompromising Daoist sage. See Williams (1986:16-17) and (p. 118).
33. It occurs in 13:93/3 and 16:101/6. Admitting that the last belongs to the *Pang Xuan* books, according to the prevalent conflation hypothesis,

this leaves us with one occurrence. But the two passages are so similar that one could use this similarity as a defense of the authenticity of chapter 16.

34. See Tan Jiajian (1986:59) and Graham (1989.H:518).

35. Du Baoyuan (1984:52) remarks, however, that fear of speaking up was in no way restricted to the Qin dynasty, but was still very real during the Han. In He guan zi's cautious criticism he finds an indication of the general consternation right after the tragic fate of Liu An, Master of Huai nan, in 122 B.C.

36. All versions have one lacuna, except the *Si ku quan shu*, of which the commentary explains that one version has *gu* 故 (disturbed).

37. For this alternative correlation, see, for instance, *Shi ji*, 5.179 (Qin correlating with the God in the West); *Shi ji*, 28.1356 (the White Emperor correlating with metal); and *Shi ji*, 8.347, 350 (Qin correlating with a white snake).

38. Following Sun Yirang (1895:7a) and Zhang Jincheng (1975:760) in emending *wei* 微 (attune), as in 1:3/4: *tiao sheng* (attuned sounds).

39. A further confirmation of the relative late dates of the *Pheasant Cap Master* in relation to that event is the explicit political use of *Di* 帝 as "Emperor," not "God," in 1:2/10.

Chapter 3: Bibliographical Evidence

1. See *gun zi*, 21:21-22, tr. Knoblock (1994:102); *Zhuang zi*, 33, tr. Graham (1986:274-85); and *Shi ji*, 130:3288-322.

2. A few years after his father's death, Liu Xin presented the *Qi lüe* to the court. It summarized the results of their reports, classified in six sections. We saw that Ban Gu, relying on this work, eliminated some more duplicates, thereby further refining the classification system at the Han court. See van der Loon (1952:360-66) and Knoblock (1988:107-8).

3. The thirty-six *pian* probably stand for three *juan* and sixteen *pian*. See van der Loon (1983:167) and Williams (1987:83-84; 167 n. 251). They

were quoted from the *Gu jin shu lu* 四庫全書目 in the Yuan edition of the *Jun zhai du shu zhi*, 11.12a, by Chao Gongwu (fl. 1140-70).

4. In *Zhi zhai shu lu jie ti*, 9.280, completed after 1240, and in the Qu edition of the *Jun zhai du shu zhi*, 11.12a, edited by Chao's disciple Yao Yingji 姚應績 in 1249.

5. See Williams (1987:42-43; 147 n. 126) and Knoblock (1988:108). Van der Loon (1984:35) makes the same argument for *juan* (scroll).

6. There were two circulating recensions of Han Yu's *Reading the Pheasant Cap Master* (*Du He guan zi*): one in nineteen *pian*, included in the *Wen xian tong kao*, 211:1734a (A.D. 1308) and mentioned by Hu Yinglin (see above); and one in sixteen *pian*, mentioned by Lu Dian (1042-1102). The latter drew attention because Lu Dian explicitly stated that Han Yu did not see the complete *Pheasant Cap Master*. See Williams (1987:88-90; 145 n. 102; 169 n. 262).

7. Graham (1989.H:500 n. 8) expands this conclusion to the records of a *Pheasant Cap Master* in fifteen *pian*. There was, however, an early redaction, quoted in the *Yi wen lei ju*, 19.345/3 (A.D. 624) and referred to by Lu Dian (19:119/3), which also figures Pang Xuan instead of a certain Pang Huan, in chapter 19. If that was his edition, Han Yu would have had no reason to assume that the text ended with chapter 16.

8. The processional constructed and aggregate nature of most pre-Han texts is now generally acknowledged. See Loewe (1993).

9. *Dao jia* in the *Han shu*, 30.1730; *Sui shu*, 34.1001; *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2029; (*Xin*) *Tang shu*, 59.1516, subdivision *shen xian* 神仙 (immortals); *Song shi*, 205.5180; *Quan mou* in the *Qi lüe* (in *Tai ping yu lan*, 685.6a); *Huang lao* and *xing ming* by Han Yu (*Han Changli ji*, 1561) and Liu Dian in his preface to the *Pheasant Cap Master*; and *Za jia* (Eclectic) in the *Si ku ti yao*, 2455. See appendix 3.

10. In the first, Ban Gu wrongly identifies him as a general from Yan. More about the conflation hypothesis in pp. 41-43.

11. Among them are Hosokawa (1979:3-14); Rand (1979-80:206-18); Chen Keming (1980:230-44); Li Xueqin (1983:55-56) and (1992:340); Ogata * (1982:62) and (1983:19); Du Baoyuan (1984:54-56); Wu Guang (1985:162-66); Williams (1987:115-26); Tan Jiajian (1986:57, 58); Peerenboom (1991:175-77) considers only chapters 3-6 and 8-11 *Huang lao*. Graham (1989.H:509-10) takes exception because he considers *Huang lao* a later type of syncretism (Graham 1989:378).

12. For *xing ming*, see Creel (1982:79-91) and pp. 174-177. For the success of *Huang lao* Daoism in the early Han, see Peerenboom (1993:217-48).
13. See Peerenboom (1993:16) and Schwartz (1985:238-39). For the images of Huang Di, see Le Blanc (1985-86).
14. See, for instance, *Shi ji*, 56.2062. Consider also the fact that Sima Tan studied with a *Huang lao* teacher (commentary to *Shi ji*, 130.3288) and his clear preference for *dao jia* or *dao de jia* in his overview of the six lineages, partially quoted below.
15. See Liu Xiaogan (1985:59, 61-63) and Roth (1991:86-88).
16. Forke (1964:541) and Graham (1989.H:510) label the *Pheasant Cap Master* as "eclectic," together with the *Lü shi chun qiu* and the *Shi zi* 尸子, while other scholars use this eclectic nature of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as an indication of *Huang lao* thought. See Hosokawa (1979:11-13); Chen Kerning (1980:224); Du Baoyuan (1984:52); Tan Jiajian (1984:58); and Williams (1987:115). For Graham's three successive types of "syncretism," see Graham (1989:373-77).
17. Neugebauer (1986:37 n. 83) worries about chapters 12 and 17, which share counterindications to two of the criteria presented by Karlgren (1929:35-40): (1) "promiscuous" use of *ru* 乎 both as final particle—interrogative and/or exclamatory—and as a preposition. These counterindications would counter the main claim of Neugebauer's own book that only chapters 1-13 make up the core of the *Pheasant Cap Master* and that the other chapters are conflated material. Concerning the first claim, I believe that chapters 2 and 9—and not 12 and 17—exhibit a "promiscuous" use of *ru* and *ruo* in Karlgren's sense. See 2:4/3 versus 2:5/4, and 9:49/3 versus 9:64/3. Concerning the second claim (and more interesting for the conflation hypothesis), there is abundant exclusive use of *hu* as preposition in chapter 17 (six times) and chapter 18 (seven times). The exceptionality and frequency suggest another author at work, confirming Neugebauer's original conclusion about the two chapters (chs. 17 and 18), which, on the basis of linking phrases and content, he combines in a separate block as belonging neither to the *Pheasant Cap Master* nor to the *Pang Xuan* (Neugebauer 1986:36).
18. Williams (1987:51-52) would reject chapters 16, 19, and possibly the two intervening chapters, if conflation took place. Ogata * divides the whole into seven groups and ten subgroups (1982:63-64 n. 17) or into eight groups and eleven subgroups (1983:20-22).
19. "Legalism" is understood by Graham as a harsh, amoral, but efficient science of statecraft, stressing laws and strict bureaucratic control,

as promoted most explicitly in the *Book of Lord Shang* (*Shang jun shu*) and the *Han fei zi* 韓非子, excluding chapters 5, 8, 20, and 21. See Graham (1989:267-92).

20. An alternative ordering of the three blocks, proposed to Graham by Paul Thompson, is A—C—B. "We would then have a neat dialectical development, first the semi-Legalist Utopia, the disillusionment with all government during the interregnum, then recovery of faith in government after the Han reunification and the proposal of a new and more human Utopia" (Graham 1989.H:531 n. 73). In that case, however, one wonders why there is still no explicit and direct criticism of the Qin tyranny, even in the last stage.

21. This is according to the direct and indirect evidence of the Dun huang manuscript and the *Qun shu zhi yao*, respectively discussed in p. 98 and p. 79.

22. It does not occur in the indirect evidence in the *Qun shu zhi yao* (A.D. 631). See chapter 5.

23. Even then, there are indications for suspicion about this line, too. The main part of chapter I (1/4-3/1) explains to the ruler how to attract the morally best persons to his court. The rest of the chapter (3/1-3/8) consists of loose sayings, of which this is the last. This part of chapter I is also missing from the *Qun shu zhi yao* quote, but this may be due to an abridgement on the part of the editors of this anthology. See p. 79.

24. *Ji* (test) also occurs in 6:31; 8:44(3×); 9:49, 50(2×); 10:67(2×), 68; and 11:74.

25. See, for instance, 7:33/4-9 and chapter 19, which may be conflated material. For the parallel line, see *Guan zi*, 20:10a13-b1 and *Guo yu*, 6:5610.

26. A tentative division would be: the "*He guan zi* section" in 9:48/7-52/2; "*Guo yu*—*Guan zi* section" mixed in 9:52/2-58/3; the second "*He guan zi*-section" in 9:58/3-65/2. The translation difficulties are an indication of the corruption. See Neugebauer (1986:132-211). For *Guan zi*, 20:7a4-11612, see Rickett (1985:324-32); for the *Guo yu*, 6:3a4-7b3, see de Harlez (1895:7-15).

27. There is one parallel in *G/G* with the *Han fei zi*, 38.6b and 43.6b, tr. Liao (1959:II, 186, 215), where the line is attributed to Shen Buhai 申不害.

28. Pang zi also asks about other curious expressions: "the human character and pattern of things," how he "sparingly ordered the myriad

creatures," "gathered with heaven and earth," and "with the spirits and illumined embodied the correct" (9:51/8-9) and, further, about the "heavenly curve" and "solar skill" (9:52/2). Although idiosyncratic expressions occur in the whole work, they abound in chapter 9. Maybe a later forger felt compelled to explain such unclear expressions with concrete political suggestions taken from the *Guan zi* or *Guo yu*.

29. The heavenly ruler in 10:67/9-10 and, less literally, in 10:86-87 (with 9:49/5-10); the use of *tian* as a verb in 4:14/6, 4:17/8, and 14:94/7 (with 9:49/3); *zhong zhe yi wo er shi zhi* 衷執 in chapter 7.

30. See, for instance, *Jing fa*, 1:1.2b (with 9:63-64), 6:12b (with 9:54/9), 6:12b (with 9:49/5-10); *Huai nan zi*, 2:5a10-12 (with 9:63/4-5), 7:363-4 (with 9:62/6), 8:4a11 (with 9:62/3), 9:1965 (with 9:63/4-5), 11:4a2 (with 9:61/7), 18:1a5-6 (with 9:54/9), 19:765-7 (with 9:63/9-10); *Yi Yin jiu zhu* 易, see Li Xueqin 1974:11 (with 9:56/3); *Li ji*, 4:10b7-11a6 (with 9:61/7); *Lü shi chun qiu*, 15.8:20b (with 9:62/9-63/8), 15:2069 (with 9:62/6-7), 19.6:15a7-b7 (with 9:62/9-63/8); *Zhuang zi*, 12:29-30/26 (with 9:50/3); and *Lao zi*, 21 (with 9:50/3).

31. This was suggested by Neugebauer (1986:48), claimed by Haloun in Needham (1956:547), and explicitly argued by Qian Mu (1965:485).

32. Doing so, I have, to some extent, anticipated the discussion around borrowing elaborated in the following chapter. For a similar approach to other parts of Graham's hypothesis, see pp. 68-69 concerning block C containing chapters 12 and 13.

Chapter 4: Commentarial Evidence

1. For a biography of Lu Dian, see Vittinghoff (1976:687-91).

2. There are two other arguments presented by Liu. First, if a *Pheasant Cap Master* with this poetic passage existed in the Han, Sima Qian, who quotes some lines from the parallel passage with the *Owl Rhapsody* in *Shi*

ji, 61.2127, would have attributed them to the *Pheasant Cap Master* and not to Jia Yi. Also, Sima Qian, the well-known bibliophile, never mentions a *Pheasant Cap Master*.

As for the first argument, the lines that Sima Qian quotes are from the *Owl Rhapsody* and do not occur in this order in the *Pheasant Cap Master*. It plainly would have been a mistake to attribute them to He guan zi. The second argument simply assumes that there existed no books that Sima Qian did not know or did not mention.

3. For a similar opinion, see Huang Zhen 黃震 (1213-80) in *Huang shi ri chao*, 55.29a.
4. See also Hu Yinglin in *Si bu zeng e*, 24; Liang Qichao (1957:90); and Wang Kaiyun (1910:3.8b-9a).
5. The expression *shen ling wei ming* 溥靈, 54): "Heaven sends *wei ming* down."
6. The text mentions two books that I have not been able to identify: in 19:120/10, the law or method of the *Yin Jing* 鳴聲 (*Old sayings on heavenly assessment, divine song, five tones and skillful arms*). Even to Lu Dian, these were unknown books. See also Neugebauer (1986:256 n. 39).
7. Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223-96) added the parallels of chapters 1 and 12 with the *Zhan guo ce*, 6 and 29, respectively, and of chapter 9 with the *Guan zi*, 20, and *Guo yu*, 6 (*Kun xue ji wen*, 10.27b). The most important texts sharing parallels are the *Huai nan zi*, the *Xun zi*, the *Li ji*, the *Lao zi*, the later or "Syncretist" *Zhuang zi* chapters, and the four *Silk Manuscripts*. As for the last collection of texts, Tang Lan (1975:17-27) has noted nineteen parallels with the *Pheasant Cap Master*. The last, *Cheng*, 41a, with 12:87/ 6-7 is dubious. Williams (1987:217 n. 43) has added the parallel between *Jing fa*, 1:3b, with 2:4/4. My own research has added five more: (1) *Jing fa*, 6:13b, and, less obviously, *Jing fa*, 9:17b, with 6:28/4; (2) *Jing fa*, 9:18a, with 11:80/2; (3) *Shi liu jing*, 3:23b, with 8:44/7-8; (4) *Cheng*, 40b, with 4:14/3-4; and (5) *Cheng*, 43a, with 4:29/9-10.
8. For the possibility of a shared third source, see, for instance, Rickett (1985:319) on the *Guo yu* and *Guan zi*. For the possibility of quoting older versions of a book, see Crump (1979:xxxv-xlii) on the newly discovered *Zhan guo zong heng jia shu* 戰國縱橫家書.
9. See Tan Jiajian (1985:57); Neugebauer (1986:41-45); Graham

(1989.H:508); Williams (1987:52-59); Hightower (1959:127-30); Ogata * (1983:17-18); and Qian Mu (1975:484-85).

10. For a similar comparison of Chinese characters and following the order of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, see Neugebauer (1986:267-72). The disadvantage of taking the order of one text as standard is that it makes the other text look very garbled, because the pieces of parallel lines and expressions occur in very different order.

11. Although chapter 12 is the most discussed chapter on borrowing claims, there is no Western-language translation of it. I follow Wu Guang (1985:155) in cutting the chapter at 86/3, where the prose changes into mainly four character rhymes. The parallel starts on 86/10 and goes up to 89/9.

12. This line is a close parallel to *Shi liu jing*, 1:18b, tr. Zhang (1993:264).

13. In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, it should be translated parallel to the previous line, with which it also rhymes; see Zhou Fagao (1982:355, 121).

14. Following the *Owl Rhapsody* variant *qu* 曲 in the extant edition (87/10).

15. *Shi ji*, 84.28-35. For other text-versions, see *Han shu*, 48.2227-28 and *Wen xuan*, 13.20b-25b. For translations of the *Fu niao fu*, see Hightower (1959:127-30) and Watson (1961:I:512-15).

16. The line of Jia Yi's thought is: everything is in constant flux (2227/ 2-3); fortune and misfortune are interwoven: examples (2227/3-6); nature unpredictably turns things into each other (2227/6-7); the world comes from an uncontrollable crucible (2228/7-8); different attitudes toward life (2228/ 8-11); and the best is to let everything go (2228/11-14).

17. As a philosophical essay in a strict poetic structure, the *Owl Rhapsody* is nevertheless exceptional in Chinese literature. Knechtges (1976:28) considers it "almost an anomaly."

18. Williams (1987:58-59). See also Neugebauer (1986:41-42), Watson (1961:I:512 n. 19); and Schindler (1959:162-64), who concludes about a passage selected at random: "There is really nothing by Chia I himself." But concerning a parallel line with the *Pheasant Cap Master*, he remarks that *Pheasant Cap Master* "may have used the text of Chia I."

19. As only other parallels, Williams (1987:158 n. 167) mentions two passages in the four *Silk Manuscripts*, noted by Tang Lan (1975:20-21).

Aside from the *Zhuang zi* passages discussed below, the *He guan zi/Fu niao fu* parallel shares expressions with other Daoist texts such as the *Jing fa* 十六經: *Shi liu jing*, 2:19b and 6:27b, with 12:86/5; and *Shi liu jing*, 1:18b, with 12:87/2. But not only is the date of the *Shi liu jing* uncertain, the parallel lines do not occur in the *Owl Rhapsody* parallel. These parallels might support the priority of the nonparallel parts of chapter 12 but cannot be used to defend the *Pheasant Cap Master* against the accusation of being a forgery postdating the *Owl Rhapsody*.

20. All other long parallel passages in the *He guan zi*, such as those in chapters I and 9 and the first part of chapter 12, are equally problematic.
21. For translation of the following passages, see Watson (1968:292, 85, 179, 40, 101, 266, 354).
22. The line on misfortune and fortune is common in Chinese philosophy. The closest parallel is with *Lao zi*, 58, tr. Henmicks (1992:138). A very similar line occurs in *Jing fa*, 1:2b-3b, tr. Zhang (1993:214).
23. The only other parallels with the *Zhuang zi* in the *Pheasant Cap Master* passage are the common Daoist expressions for *chaos*, *hun dun* 蕪芒 (88/2-3). The idea of comparing the *He guan zi/Fu niao fu* parallel with the *Zhuang zi* quotes comes from an M.A. thesis on the *Pheasant Cap Master*, defended at Harvard University. The author is unknown to me.
24. The fact that Graham uses quotes and ideas almost exclusively from chapter 13 to characterize block C seriously limits the evidence for the unity of block C. The one quote from chapter 12 (82/4-7) attests to the orthodox historiography. A further argument against the block hypothesis is that in chapter 13, "Complete Knowledge" (*Bei zhi*), knowledge or insight is not always considered bad, as in Graham's characterization of block C, but, on the contrary, is ultimately necessary for a sage. As an illustration (see p. 132), the author quotes a series of insightful ministers (13:93/2-3) that is very close to a passage in the dubious chapter 16 (101/5-7).
25. See 12:86/3-4 with 17:111/10; 12:86/3-4 with 11:80/1 and, partly, 17:110/6; 12:86/8 with 4:8/8; 12:89/4 with 4:14/6; and 12:90/2-3 with 9:64/9. Other phrases belong to the parallel but are not exceptional or particular to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, such as *ao xiang* 孰知其極 (who knows its apex?) in 12:88/4 with 8:42/9.

26. *Su* is used in a positive sense in 4:18/6; 14:19/4; 7:33/9; 8:47/3; 9:49/2; 9:51/7; 9:57/6; 9:61/7; 10:68/7; and 19:119/7. In the whole *Pheasant Cap Master*, it occurs four times in a negative sense: (1) here: in 12:89/8; (2) in 12:83/10, in a long parallel with the *Zhan guo ce*, 6 in which, I believe, the *Pheasant Cap Master* also borrows; (3) in 18:105/7; and (4) 18:110/2. Chapter eighteen is suspected by several scholars of being conflated material.

27. It is remarkable that of the four historic examples of changing fortune in the *Owl Rhapsody* (Fu Chai's defeat despite Wu's strength, Gou Jian's success despite Yue's restriction, Li Si's mutilation despite his power, and Fu Yue's success despite his bondage) two are missing in the *Pheasant Cap Master*, among them, Li Si's mutilation. Was it consciously dropped to give the *Pheasant Cap Master* an older appearance?

Chapter 5: Textual Evidence

1. For this shift of interest from the content to the text, see Elman (1984:43, 68-70). There is evidence of at least one emendation made in the Ming (in 1:2/9). Wang Yu, the editor of the *Zhu shi hua zhai* edition (1625), acknowledges his restoration.

2. 虎.

3. Following Sun Yirang (1895:6.4a) and Zhang Jincheng (1975:645), I consider *quan* (to weigh/assess) a commentarial interpolation: it disturbs the parallel and does occur in the *Qun shu zhi yao* (see p. 80). An alternative is to take *quan* as the beginning of the following line: *quan ren* 權 (weighing/assessing power) of the candidates for government.

4. For parallels in terms of types of men who arrive (*zhi* 至 is idiosyncratic to the *Pheasant Cap Master*). The expression occurs in a Confucian sense in the *Li ji*, 29.11b, tr. Legge (1986:IV:278).

5. For *wu li qing zhe* 物理情者. For other suggestions, see Yu Yue (1899:34) and Graham (1989:H:512).

6. The commentary gives *bu* (not) as a variant for *fu*. This is in accord with the Dun huang manuscript. *Fu* occurs in all of the remaining direct and indirect evidence of the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the *Qun shu zhi yao* included, and also in other similar lines in the *Pheasant Cap Master* (2:4/4 and 4:8/6) and in *Jing fa*, 1:367.
7. I have nowhere found *ming quan* as an expression, and it disturbs the parallel.
8. Other alternatives are not excluded. Only if taken in combination do Graham's arguments carry considerable weight. Of support for Fu Zengxiang would be the indirect testimony in the *Xiao xue gan zhu*, 3.113 (thirteenth century A.D.), in which this passage is also absent (see appendix 4).
9. See Thompson (1979:63-72) for the history of this anthology. For the compilers' habit of abridging passages, see Roth (1992:366 n. 52). It quotes chapter I from the beginning through the parallel with the *Zhan guo ce* (1:1/3-3/1), a passage in the middle of chapter 2 (2:4/8-5/2), and chapter 16 from the beginning through the two medical stories, leaving out only the dubious lines discussed below (16:100/7-102/8).
10. I have not been able to locate *long jun* 隆君, the variant in 1:3/1. For *hou de* as "solid virtue," see *Zhuang zi*, 26:74/34, tr. Watson (1968:299). It also occurs as a verb-object construction in the *Guo yu*, 8:6a10, tr. de Harlez (1895:61), where the ruler is criticized for his concern with "increasing their confidence in his [own] bounty," rather than with proper government. In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, however, the parallel with *long jun* and the content of chapter I suggest that the ruler ought to "thicken" (hou) the minister's "power" (*de*).
11. The "Kingly blade" as political symbol occurs in the *Xin shu*, 14.3a8-9. For other instances of the superiority of the *Qun shu zhi yao*, see nn. 5, 6, and 16.
12. *Gui shen bi zhi* 鬼神避之: see also *Shi ji*, 87.2549, tr. Bodde (1967:28): "him even spirits avoid."
13. For speculations on the King of Chu and Sui, see Neugebauer (1986:237 n. 8) and Ogata * (1983:23 n. 16).
14. This translation is tentative and follows Neugebauer (1986:238-9 nn. 14-16).
15. Sun Yirang (1895:6.6b), Sun Renhe (1929:166), and Zhang Jincheng (1975:747) follow the *Qun shu zhi yao*.

16. Other cases supporting the *Qun shu zhi yao* are: (1) the absence in the *Qun shu zhi yao* of the commentarial interpolation of *quan* (assess) in chapter 1 (see above). Despite his preference for the Dun huang manuscript, even Williams believes here that *quan* is an early gloss (Williams, 1987:67-8; 207 n. 5). (2) The variant *hou* 侯 (marquis) in the *Qun shu zhi yao*, 18a, instead of *wang* (king) in several editions, is confirmed by the *Dao zang* and *Zi hui* variants and by two quotes from the *Tai ping yu lan*, 375.6a and 724.4b. However, despite its relative superiority, the authenticity of the *Qun shu zhi yao* has thereby not been proved to be perfect.

17. For the translation of this title, see appendix 5.

18. He is followed by Tan Jiajian (1986:58); Williams (1987:225 n. 67); Graham (1989.H:522); and Peerenboom (1991:185).

19. See, for instance, 5:19/7, 10:65/5-6, and 11:76/2. Further research on Lu Dian's philosophical affiliation and background may provide an answer to this question, although the interpolation is not necessarily his.

20. Zhang Jincheng (1975:721) and Graham (1989.H:498 n. 3) also believe it is a commentarial interpolation. The reason for the lacunae in the *Dao zang* remains a mystery. It seems obvious that Lu Dian's commentary has inspired editors to fill in the lacunae.

21. Zhang Jincheng (1975:725/2-726/2) has inserted it into his annotated commentary. Graham (1989.H:498 n. 3) and Williams (1987:179-80 n. 353) also appreciate it but do not investigate it in detail.

22. For annotation of this passage, see p. 214.

23. On the artificial division between chapters 10 and 11, see Graham (1989.H:522) and Du Baoyuan (1984:56). "Human affairs" in chapter 10 would correlate with "the seasons" and "yin and yang" in chapters 11 and 7. See below.

24. That the *Yong le da dian* is also not the "ultimate original" is suggested by lines 11:75/1-5, which it shares with the received version and which are inferior to their quote in the *Lu shi zhu, qian ji*, 3:7a7-8 (twelfth century A.D.). See Zhang Jincheng (1975:719).

25. Other instances of its superiority are: (1) the commentarial interpolation of *xia ou* (11:76/9); (2) the variant *li* 理 (sage), confirmed by the meaning and the *Dao zang* variant (11:76/10); and (3) the absence of two dubious lines of the received version (11:75/8-76/2): they are difficult to translate and unclear in meaning (the commentators are perplexed and suggest many emendations); they disturb the line of thought with a sudden introduction of rhymes and Confucian attitudes not

mentioned again; and, finally, the conclusion contradicts a line in the *Yong le da dian* insertion (2a3.2).

26. For this terminology, see Roth (1992:386 n. 4). The most complete list of *Pheasant Cap Master* editions and studies has been published by Yan Lingfeng (1975:391-402). See also Williams (1987:110, 252-55); Neugebauer (1986:1-6); and Graham (1989.H:498 n. 3; 508 n. 36). For a more detailed comparison of editions, see Defoort (1993:102-24). For a list of the full and abridged editions consulted in this study, see the bibliography.

27. Schipper (1975:22) lists the *Pheasant Cap Master* under no. 1175, vol. 842, but writes *xiao* 翫. For general information about the *Dao zang*, see Roth (1992:144-47).

28. Besides 11:76:9 (*xia ou*), 11:81/5 (*san*), and 11:81/3 (*tian di*), the *Yong le da dian* also confirms 11:74/8, 11:76/10, and 11:79/4; Li Shan's commentary on the *Wen xuan*, 13.23b (around A.D. 700) confirms 12:87/8.

29. "In simple variations between a lacuna and an illegible graph, change is in the direction of the lacuna" and, secondly, "that in simple variations between a lacuna and an omission, change is in the direction of the omission" (Thompson, 1979:180 n. 2).

30. For this terminology, see Roth (1992:330).

31. Alternatives are *zheng* 明 (luminary), as further in the chapter (8:46/10-48/5). The translation would then be: "Therefore display the five policies and use them to direct (*si*) the five titles."

32. Although my edition of the *Shi liu jing* gives *cong* 𠂔 (use), all others give *yi*. See, for instance, Yu Mingguang (1993:107). See also Graham (1989.H:508 n. 36).

33. Other instances of the striking inferiority of the *Dao zang* are: 11:81/3, discussed below; the lacunae in 10:68/3, 10:70/8, and 10:71/6; the writing mistake in 9:57/3; and, finally, 15:97/2, where the non-*Dao zang* variant is confirmed by the title.

34. I have not been able to identify this character. Zhang Jincheng (1975:686) follows Wang Kaiyun (1919:1464) in emending this character to *ling* 陵 (to usurp/abuse).

35. Other cases of superior variants shared by the *Zi hui* and *Dao zang* editions against the *Si bu cong kan*: (1) 16:101/8 and 16:102/7 are confirmed by *Qun shu zhi yao*, 18a (seventh century), and the *Tai ping yu*

lan, 375.6a and 724.4b (tenth century); (2) 8:40/10 is confirmed by the commentarial paraphrase of the Dun huang manuscript. See Fu (1929:724/ 10); and (3) other cases are: 6:26/8, 6:32/1, 7:35/6, 8:43/5, 16:101/8, and 19:119/7. One variant of the *Si bu cong kan* edition (6:28/8), however, is confirmed by the Dun huang manuscript, in the lines copied from the text and appended to the commentary by Fu Zengxiang (1929:724/1). The possibility of the *Si bu cong kan* edition being an ancestral redaction thus needs further textual analysis.

36. He believes that the *Zi hui* follows the *Si bu cong kan* in its restorations of lacunae in the *Dao zang*, and sometimes restores the text further or drops more lacunae. According to Graham, the *Zhu shi hua zhai* edition of A.D. 1625 is situated between the *Si bu cong kan*, of which it restores lacunae, and the *Zi hui*, which takes them over while dropping the possible remaining lacunae. This is often, but not always, the case (see 8:41/ 7). Graham's strongest argument is the variation on 1:2/9, where Wang Yu, the editor of the *Zhu shi hua zhai*, acknowledges his restoration (see 2a4). In that particular case, the *Zi hui* does indeed have these restorations while dropping the remaining lacuna. Considering the later dates of the *Zhu shi hua zhai*, and the counterindications to Graham's hypothesis, I see no reason to assume that the *Zi hui* followed the *Zhu shi hua zhai*. Moreover, Wang Yu does not say on what basis he restores the text. He may well have had a variant edition in his possession, possibly the *Zi hui*.

37. Emending *sui* 唯, as in 13:93/7.

38. Other instances of the superiority of the *Zi hui* against the *Dao zang/Si bu cong kan* variant are (1) 18:114/10 and (2) 8:45/3, confirmed once by the *Yi wen lei ju* 太平御覽, sources of the seventh, eighth, and tenth centuries A.D.

39. The four are: (1) the Peking Library, (2) the British Museum, (3) the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, and (4) scattered manuscripts (Teng and Biggerstaff, 1971:28-29).

40. *Dun huang si bu yishu mulu* 藏西圖書題記續集·續本 (Wang Zhongmin, 1958:180-81). The *Cangyuan qunshu tiji xuji, xuben*, 3.2:37a-38a contains nothing other than this same postscript, originally printed in the *Beiping tushuguan yuekan* (1929), 719, described below.

Curiously, the index of the *Dun huang si bu yishu mulu*, 486, refers to the extant *Pheasant Cap Master* in nineteen chapters with titles, although it does not give any source other than the *Dun huang guji xulu*, which, in turn, relies only on Fu's postscript.

41. Why, then, give it another date? There is, moreover, presently in the Qiqihar city library one more partial *Pheasant Cap Master* manuscript, very similar to the one in Fu Zengxiang's possession. Only two and a half chapters of the present version are preserved, from the end of chapter 5 (24/ 5) up to the end of chapter 7 (39/5), where it says "*He guan zi* scroll 1, corrected and finished in the 5th month of the third year of Zhenguan 正觀三年, this could have been the three-juan edition circulating in the Sui (He Fengqi and Wang Hongsheng, 1987; Yan Wenm, 1987).

Chapter 6: Positive Rhetoric

1. For this discussion and the tension in general, see IJsseling (1976:7-17). For a rehabilitation of the Greek rhetoricians, see Reding (1985: 59-239).
2. "*Bene dicere non possit nisi bonus*" (*Institutio*, II, xv/34, tr. Butler, 1920-22:I:315). This line from Quintilian was gathered from Cicero's writings and was later echoed in countless treatises (Fish, 1989:473).
3. For a comparison of ancient Greek and Chinese rhetoric, see Wilhelm (1957); Knechtges (1976:21-25), in relation to Han rhapsodies; and Crump (1964:88-104), in relation to the *Zhan guo ce*, the most concentrated collection of rhetorical exercises in the ancient Chinese tradition.
4. These are traditional examples of loyal ministers mistreated by wicked rulers. See Allan (1981:85-86); Bodde (1967:49); and appendix 2, in which are listed all the names occurring in the *Pheasant Cap Master*.
5. See *Han shu*, 30:1756, tr. Wilhelm (1957:312-13) and his evaluation of the relation between the scholar and the ruler on p. 316.

6. See *Xun zi*, 26:95/27-36, tr. Knoblock (1994:202-4). See *Shi ji*, 84:2481-503, tr. Watson (1961:1:466-516).
7. See Idema and Haft (1985:66).
8. By "Pang X^uuan" I mean Pang Xuan or the otherwise unknown Pang Huan (see p. 15).
9. Occasionally, Pang zi confronts his Master with words of criticism and suspicion, which may contain hints about the opposition that the author had to face. He guan zi's reputation is enhanced if he can make his audience believe that Pang zi was the well-known general from Zhao (see 2.3) and the teacher of King Daoxiang. The situation is complicated, first, by the conflation hypothesis (see 3.3) and, second, by the unclarity about the identity of Pang Huan.
10. This is a central topic recurring throughout most of Girard's works. For the scapegoat mechanism in relation to the king, see Girard (1979:150-66, 419-25), briefly recapitulated in Girard (1978:59-66). For the ritual sacrifice of rulers in early Chinese texts, see Lewis (1990:205-9).
11. Chapter 19 may originally have been a *Pang Xuan* book. On conditions for rulers so that they "can be joined" (*ke yu* 可與) by valuable advisers, see also 8:46/6 and *Meng zi*, 2B2, tr. Lau (1984:87).
12. On the ruler's double task of "recognition" and "attraction," see Allan (1981:45-47). On the growing importance of recognition in the Zhou dynasty, see Lewis (1990:77) and Henry (1987).
13. This is a common saying. See, for instance, *Guan zi*, 55, tr. Haloun (1951:116-17); *Zhan guo ce*, 21:760, tr. Crump (1979:364), and *Han fei zi*, 17:562-3, tr. Liao (1959:I:147). Liao explains: "The interior includes the queen, the princesses, the consorts, the heir apparent, the sons, the bastards, and the courtiers; the exterior, the ministers, magistrates, officers, etc." Liao (1959:I:148 n. 2).
14. Here, the saying is followed by a short selection list similar to the one in chapter 6. The tailor analogy is common in the classical corpus: see, for instance, *Zhan guo ce*, 20:355, tr. Crump (1979:355).
15. This is a common saying. See *Xun zi*, 9:31/126, tr. Knoblock (1990:112).
16. The danger lies not only in literally lodging in the same building but also in encroaching upon each other's positions. A similar image, in terms of way (*dao*) versus power (*de*) is used in 2:4/1. For a parallel of the first line, see *Yi Yin jiu zhu* in Li Xueqin (1974:26).

17. Following Zhang Chunyi (1970:608/4-5) in reading 務 (endeavor) in the following passage. See also Zhang Jincheng (1975:677).
18. Following Zhang Jincheng (1975:677) in reading *sui* 崇 (honor).
19. Translating *wu* (thing/creature) as "them" (see p. 206). For other passages stressing the importance of genuine concern for the people, see 4:16/10-17/1, 6:32/3, and 17:109/6. For other passages insisting on the people's profit, see 8:48/2-3, 9:56/6, and 65/2. This topic appears in many other late Warring States or Han texts: see, for instance, *Xun zi*, 18:65/19, tr. Knoblock (1994:35).
20. This passage is a close parallel to *Zhan guo ce*, 29:1050-51, tr. Crump (1979:523-24). Pheasant Cap Master was for the first time accused, by Wang Yinglin, of having plagiarized this passage (see p. 250 n. 7).
21. This is a very common saying in the classical corpus. Apart from the *Zhan guo ce*, 29, see *Xun zi*, 32:108/6-7, tr. Knoblock (1994:266); *Lü shi chun qiu*, 20.7:18b, tr. Wilhelm (1979:367); *Han shi wai zhuan*, 6.5b, tr. Hightower (1959:200); *Xin shu*, 41.1b and 46.1b; *Shuo yuan*, 1.7a; and *Cheng*, 37b, tr. Zhang (1993:307).
22. Following the indirect evidence in the *Wen xuan*, 18a3-9 in dropping *de* (power) and emending 制. See also Zhang Jincheng (1975:647).
23. In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, "tones" lead and "sounds" follow, as in 3:6/9-10, 8:40/1, 8:41/2-3, and 8:45/3.
24. Taking 惰, is used in the same expression in 6:33/2. In 12:82/10 the gentleman is said not to be negligent (*duo*). For a close parallel of this line, see *Yan zi chun qiu*, 5.11a.
25. Following the *Si bu cong kan* and *Si bu bei yao* variant 視.
26. There are many similarities with Qu Yuan's life as described in *Shi ji*, 84:2481-91, tr. Watson (1961:1:500-505): the problem of ill-hearing in diplomacy, wicked ministers, breaking one's word, fighting a state that was no rival, and so forth.
27. This is a common idea. See, for instance, *Zhuang zi*, 22:59/37, tr. Watson (1968:239).
28. Following Neugebauer (1986:83 n. 70) eraending 多 (consider much).

29. For a similar idea, see *Huai nan zi*, 15:368, tr. Morgan (1969:188).
30. *Hua zheng* 齊正 is an idiosyncratic expression recurring in 4:9/9, 4:18/5, and 7:37/2, 4.
31. Using 策 (scheme), as in 12:85/6.
32. This line, of which the meaning is more straightforward than the grammatical parallelism, is one of He guan zi's favorites. See 4:19/3-4 and 8:42/6. For concrete suggestions about making those above responsible for those below at every level of the legal network, see the long but corrupt exposition in 9:55/8-56/10.
33. In 4:8/4, heaven and earth are said to be good at not getting "spilled" (*lan*) (see p. 190). According to Williams (1987:229 n. 92), *lan* "refers specifically to water exceeding and overflowing a prescribed boundary. By extension it means to spread beyond set limits and frequently indicates activity influenced by personal concerns and which exceeded accepted standards."
34. Reading 位 (position). For another passage insisting on killing the minister who rivals the ruler, see 8:43/4-5.
35. Following the *Dao zang* version to drop 殘 (mutilate), which, moreover, disturbs the rhythm.
36. For He guan zi's disapproval of putting relatives or nobility in charge, see 4:15/6-8, 4:17/9-10, 6:26/9-10, 7:36/1, 7:36/10, and 8:91/8-92/1. The author's annoyance with the ruler who "takes nobility (*gui* 歸) (see pp. 128-130).
37. Following the variant from the now lost *Xiu wen dian yu lan* 修文典御覽 (ca. 490), preserved in *Tai ping yu lan*, 633.10a. On the relation between the two encyclopedias, see Thompson (1979:92-94).
38. Twice following the Dun huang variant 不. For other descriptions of "sagely kings," see 4:17/2, 4:17/8, 7:34/7, 8:43/4-7, and 9:80/ 4-6.
39. The last two lines are tentative.
40. Only 9:58/3-8 seems to be in favor of the hereditary system, but (1) the passage is very corrupt, and (2) it concerns a golden age under the exemplary Cheng Jiu clan.
41. There is no strict contradiction in the fact that the ruler and his sage adviser are in different passages identified with the pole. To be "fa-

ther," "pole," or "heaven" refers to an aspect in a particular relation rather than to a fixed essence. Nathan Sivin (1987:66-69) has argued that yin and yang are to be understood as dynamic, attributive, and aspectual labels, describing relative positions in changing relations, seen from a particular position or fitting in a particular discourse. I believe that this insight can be extended to politically relevant terms such as those mentioned.

42. Following Zhang Jincheng (1975:757), in emending 德聲 is tentative and in line with the rest of the sentence.
43. For other hints about the importance of rulers respectfully learning from their teachers, see 6:32/10, 7:37/7, 11:79/1, and 15:97/2-8.
44. This type of influence, emerging from the obscure and reaching everywhere, is at other instances attributed to the highest type of government. See, for example, the policy of "spiritual transformation" in 8:47/4-6 (see p. 212).
45. For a thorough discussion of the relation between the sage ruling by virtue and the heir ruling by heredity in the ancient Chinese corpus, see Allan (1981). See also Graham (1989:292-94).
46. For the importance of the one (*yi*), which, according to Pheasant Cap Master, keeps the society together, see 5:24/7, 8:46/5, and 10:73/2.
47. Following the *Dao zang* variant *wang* 王.
48. See *Lü shi chun qiu*, 3.5, tr. Wilhelm (1979:38-40). The chapter also ends with a criticism of hereditary rule.
49. Other passages stressing the influence of man on the way are 8:39/7, 14:96/7, and 18:116/1-2: "There is a way (or: are ways) of former kings, but there is no former king of the way." In this case, the way is attributed to the kings, not their sagely ministers. This may be explained by the fact that this passage is situated before the establishment of hereditary rule, or that it takes the king as representative of his bureaucracy, not as the person who may be in competition with his adviser.
50. For examples of sages and worthies who saved the age, see 12:83/ 1-4, 13:93/2-4, and 16:101/5-8.
51. Note the direct opposition with Huang Di's conclusion concerning the relation between the way and the one in the *Zhuang zi*: according to him, there is only one *qi* pervading the world; "that is. why the sage values the one." The Yellow Emperor admits, however, that by this very claim his

ignorance is proved. See *Zhuang zi*, 22:57/5-58/16, tr. Graham (1986:159-60).

52. For a similar argument by Bian Que, see *Zhan guo ce*, 4:132-33, tr. Crump (1979:74-75).

53. Taking 希天 is positive: "strive to be of heaven."

54. For a similar complaint, see *Xun zi*, 26:95/27-36, tr. Knoblock (1994:202-4) and see p. 161.

55. For a similar idea, see *Zhuang zi*, 17:43/35, tr. Graham (1986:147). For the empty vase (*hu* 瓠) as a symbol of political uselessness in the classical corpus, see *Lun yu*, 17.7, tr. Lau (1988:144) and *Zhuang zi*, 1:2/35-3/42, tr. Graham (1986:46-47).

56. This is a recurring question in the classical corpus, sometimes discussed in terms of "timing" (*shi* 命). See, for instance, 13:93/8-10 and 17:104/3. Xun zi discusses Confucius's fate in the same terms in *Xun zi*, 26:31, tr. Knoblock (1994:203). So does Confucius in *Zhuang zi*, 17:44/61-65, tr. Watson (1968:184).

57. For the question of suicide in relation to the "frustration *fu*," see Wilhelm (1957:317-19) and Knechtges (1976:27). For Sima Qian's own sensitivity to such matters, see *Shi ji*, 84:2503, tr. Watson (1961:I:516) and his letter to Ren An: *Han shu*, 62:2725-36, tr. Chavannes (1967:I:ccxxvii-ccxxviii).

58. According to *Zhuang zi*, 29:82/42, tr. Graham (1986:238), "he was eaten by the fish and turtles."

59. Cao Mo served under Duke Zhuang of Lu (r. 693-662) B.C. and took revenge on Duke Huan of Qi in 681 B.C. (see *Shi ji*, 86:2515-16, tr. Watson, 1969:45-46). The story as told in the *He guan zi* closely parallels a passage in the *Zhan guo ce*, 13:448-49, tr. Crump (1979:208), where it is the last part of a letter written by Lu Zhonglian in the mid-third century B.C. to persuade the commander of Yan to stop his attack on a city of Qi (on the dates of this event, see Kierman, 1962:104-6 n. 40, 112-13 n. 77). He guan zi was for the first time accused, by Wang Yinglin, of having plagiarized this passage (see p. 250 n. 7).

60. Using 策 (scheme), as in 7:36/3.

61. Following Zhang Jincheng (1975:731) in reading *jue* 自絕 (cut off oneself).

62. For this event, see *Shi ji*, 34.1558-60, tr. Chavannes (1967:IV:145-49), where Ju Xin is said to have been killed by Pang Xuan in 242 B.C.
63. The idea of the right time was dominant in this period and occurs in several contemporary texts, such as the four *Silk Manuscripts*, the *Lü shi chun qiu*, and some *Zhuang zi* chapters. See, for instance, *Zhuang zi*, 17:43/35: "value and meanness have their time; one cannot consider them constant" (tr. Watson, 1968:180).
64. See Henry (1987:21) on the apparent contradiction in the *Analects* "between the passages that say that gentlemen do not distress themselves at not being known and the passages that show Confucius indulging in precisely that variety of distress."

Chapter 7: Rhetorical Language

1. For a general survey of Western modes of persuasion attributed to Chinese texts, see Kao (1986).
2. See p. xi. One could go even further and argue that words have a performative force even where no conscious attempt is made to persuade.
3. As in the expression "*you* 有 X," (literally "(we) have X,") X is the object of the expression "*suo wei* X," (literally "what (we) call X.") In both cases translation often turns X into the subject: for "*you* X": "there is X" or "X exists"; for "*suo wei* X": "what X means."
4. Although written down in the fourth to third century B.C., the *Lun yu* also records older conversations of Confucius's time (Creel, 1949:321-22). Even though he does not explicitly use the expression *suo wei*, the Master often makes a point by stating what can or cannot be called (*wei*) "filiality" (*xiao* 孝), and so forth. Even when not using the verb *wei*, many of his answers variously specify what he thinks of politically or familially important terms.
5. In his book *Doing Things with Words in Chinese Politics*, Michael Schoenhals takes a similar approach toward contemporary Chinese politics. He wonders why the art of doing things with words "so dear to China's *homo politicus*" has received so little attention: "Why is it that Western scholars with so few exceptions have tended to relegate the role of language to the periphery, rather than to the center, of Chinese politics?" (Schoenhals, 1992:5).
6. The Greek term *paradiastole* is probably Hellenistic. No ancient Greek text using the term appears to have survived. It is first mentioned

and discussed by Quintilian (A.D. 35-96) in his *Institutio Oratoria*, IX.iii/65, tr. Butler (1920-22:IV:483). For the history of *paradiastole*, see Skinner (1991).

7. The tendency to define was not restricted to evaluative redefinitions as discussed here. Neutral definitions, often in the form "A B ye" also begin with the *Meng zi* and, via the Mohist *Canons* and the *Xun zi*, reach a climax in such Han works as the *Xin shu* 春秋繁露 (*Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn Annals*). This evolution is beyond the realm of He guan zi's immediate concerns.

8. This is illustrated below with the term *regicide*. For the term *stealing*, see, for instance, *Lao zi*, 53, tr. Henricks (1992:128) and *Zhuang zi*, 10:24/19-20, tr. Graham (1986:208). By calling attention to this particular and often neglected mode of argumentation, I do not mean to deny the existence of other modes of argumentation.

9. See *Xun zi*, 15:55/40-41, tr. Knoblock (1990:224). According to Edward Shaughnessy, the *Tai shi* chapter is generally regarded as a forgery of the Han period. See Loewe (1994:378-79).

10. A traditionally cited parallel case is the overthrow of Jie, the last ruler of the Xia dynasty, by Tang, the founder of the Shang dynasty. For the recurrent problem of "regicide," see Allan (1981:81-89, 106-108); Lewis (1990:205-9); and pp. 205-208.

11. It deserves notice that Wu also appealed to a higher reality, *tian* (heaven), not, however, to justify the act of regicide, but as a support for calling Zhou Xin an "outcast," and thus *for calling* his own act "execution."

12. Kennedy's argument lies somewhat beyond the present discussion, (1) because of the selection of his entry: words for natural deaths are not politically or morally loaded as are words for killing; and (2) because of his focus on the extra information provided by the author, not the judicious use of terminology.

13. "Les Chinois aiment à argumenter et s'y montrent habiles; pourtant ils ne se soucient guère de mettre en forme des raisonnements. Ils attachent, en revanche, une extrême importance à l'art de qualifier (*ming*)" (Granet, 1988:363). Marcel Granet and Chad Hansen have often called attention to the performative power of speech in the Chinese corpus, without particularly focusing on the expression *suo wei*. See, for instance, Granet (1988:36, 41, 363-64) and Hansen (1983:77-78).

14. With philosophical rivals such as Gao zi, Mencius uses more neutral definitions. Another remarkable instance of arguing by redefining

in the *Meng zi* (aside from the one concerning "regicide" translated below is *Meing zi*, 1B16, tr. Lau (1984:72). Instead of challenging a traditional custom or pleading for mitigating circumstances, Mencius's disciple formulates his defense by simply questioning the opponent's understanding of a word as trivial as "exceed" (*yu* 踰).

15. Emending 籍 (*ji*) entitled the lord to the land and were therefore a primary symbol of political authority. See p. 124 and Knoblock (1994:305 n. 14).
16. According to Mark Lewis (1990:209), the "problems of rationalizing and ritualizing the forcible overthrow of the legitimate ruler remained a basic issue in the use of violence throughout Chinese history."
17. For other explicit identifications of man with heaven, see 6:27/6 and 6:31/2. For *tian* used as a verb, see 4:17/8 and 14:94/7: "heaven them"; 18:113/5 and 114/7 "be able to heaven"; and 9:49/2-9: "Cheng Jiu heavened." Pang zi asks his Master to explain what he means by "to heaven," which may indicate that even he is confused by such use of the term.
18. For another definition of *tian* as "what patterns the essential character of things" (1:1/8), I have followed the *Qun shu zhi yao* variant: *li wu qing zhe* (see p. 74, 253 n. 5).
19. *Zhang* 章 means "make clear/known" as well as "system," another of the many words that Pheasant Cap Master uses to express order and regularity (see p. 200).
20. The expression *yang zhi yan* 仰制焉, literally "looking up be regulated by him," also occurs in 10:71/4 and 11:78/6, always in a positive sense. The whole passage has a loose parallel in 10:67/8-68/2 and *Jing fa*, 6:12b6-8, tr. Zhang (1993:246). These two last parallel passages are closer to each other than to the passage quoted here.
21. Following Wang Kaiyun (1919:14b3-4) in using the commentary to restore the lacuna before *zhi* (knowledge) as it is preserved in the *Dao zang*. See also Zhang Jincheng (1975:686) and (p. 94).
22. The passage is preceded by "those who set up a gnomon to peer far away, do not get confused; those who hold on to the standard to make decisions, are not in doubt" (see p. 188). This passage also occurs with minor differences in the third of the four *Silk Manuscripts*, *Cheng*, 37b, tr. Zhang (1993:306). By specifying the term *huo*, Pheasant Cap Master may have wanted to advance his own understanding of a common saying.

23. Replacing 蒙 (blindfolded) as in the foregoing explicit specification of the four terms in 17:106/7-10.
24. For other explicit political specifications of *ming* in the same line, see *Lun yu*, 12.6, tr. Lau (1988:113); *Shang jun shu*, 18.13a, tr. Duyvendak (1974:291); *Guan zi*, 55.2b; and *Huai nan zi*, 7.2b, tr. Morgan (1969:60-61). For descriptions of political situations in terms of clear-sightedness and obstruction, see *Shi ji*, 84:2482, tr. Watson (1961:I:500), where Sima Qian deplores the fate of the unheeded minister Qu Yuan; and *Xun zi*, 26:95/30-31, tr. Knoblock (1994:203), where Xun zi deplores sages such as Confucius for not meeting the right time.
25. For the same reason that Richard Walker failed to find more pragmatic political philosophies in the corpus of Chinese philosophy (see p. 107), we do not find many other specifications of "clear-sightedness." They express the view of the opposition, traditionally speaking with the voice of the unheeded or endangered adviser.
26. Graham (1989:H:521, 524) solves this apparent contradiction by attributing the minimalistic view on man to the Legalist block A, and the powerful view to the more humane block B. Peerenboom (1991:176, 181) uses the same ambiguity as a criterion for separating the so-called *Huang lao* from non-*Huang lao* chapters in the *He guan zi* (see p. 278 n. 12).
27. The expression "*yi qi xiang yu* 以奇相御" (control each other by irregularities) also occurs in *Jing fa*, 1:3b, tr. Zhang (1993:217), where it is surrounded by several other lines from different *He guan zi* chapters.
28. For this clichéd description, see, for instance, *Han fei zi*, 31.9a, tr. Liao (1959:II:21); *Shi ji*, 68.2231, tr. Duyvendak (1974:16); *Zhan guo ce*, 3.1a9-10, tr. Crump (1979:54).
29. Following Zhang Jincheng (1976:707-8) in reading 蒼鳥 (eagle).
30. Other statements attesting to the high value of man are 7:34/1, 10:65/9, 11:81/5, 14:96/6-8, and 18:116/1-8.
31. This expression also occurs in 7:38/1 and 9:56/3, and the *Yi Yin jiu zhu* discovered at *Mawangdui*; see Li Xueqin (1974:21).
32. The first example is particularly painful because the same population is submitted to different political "namers," as is also the case under a government that is destabilized by competing factions or by civil war.
33. For redefinitions of *ming* (order/mandate), see pp. 180-181. For definitions of *dao* (way) and *yi* (one), see pp. 125-127. Another interesting

cluster of redefinitions and puns surrounds the terms *dao* (way), *de* (power), and *de* (get). See, for instance, 1:3/1-2, 5:23/4-5, 10:65/10, 17:106/10, and 18:118/8-9. Because Pheasant Cap Master seems to pun rather than to make evaluative redefinitions, they are not quoted here.

34. *Dao* (stealing) does not occur. *Shi* (regicide) is mentioned in only one passage. Having stated his opinion, Pheasant Cap Master apparently considers the issue closed. Regicide is, moreover, touched on only peripherally when other matters are discussed: the appointment of the most worthy, from the lowest positions up to the throne (see p. 125).

35. In 7:39/1-2, there is even a cryptic passage arguing against written laws.

36. I dropped the word *stuff* to avoid discussion on the mass-noun hypothesis. For this hypothesis, see Hansen (1983:30-54).

37. See also Hansen (1983:44). For the absence of a sharp distinction between prescription and description, see Hansen (1990:84).

38. A very similar complaint occurs in the *Xun zi*: "The blind he considers clear-sighted, the deaf keen of hearing, he takes danger as security and the auspicious for unlucky. Alas! Heaven on high, when did I ever have anything in common with him?" (*Xun zi*, 26:95/35-36, tr. Knoblock, 1994:204).

39. An example of the first is Hobbes's "natural law" as a cure for *paradiastole* (see p. 197). The art of redefinition was closely related to the Aristotelian view of "neighboring vices"—vices that border on virtues—still predominant in the Renaissance. One of the meanings of *diastole* in Greek is "to distinguish." Quintilian renders *paradiastole* into Latin as *distinctio* and defines it as "the figure by means of which similar things are distinguished from each other" (*Institutio Oratoria*, IX.iii/65, tr. Butler, 1920-22:IV:483). This is consistent with the heart's (*xin* 心).

Chapter 8: Views on Language

1. Schwartz (1985:348) contrasts Legalism as a "political science" with Machiavelli's thoughts as a "political art." For the Legalist science in relation to "names," see Creel (1974:106-24). See also the following note.

2. The contrast made by Schwartz (1985:348) between "science" and "art" also counts in relation to the power of language: although the *practice* of *paradiastole* revived in Renaissance advice-books, it was not paired with

a *science* of the political power of language comparable with the early Chinese reflections on *ming*. Two alternative sciences in the West were the study of rhetoric in the restricted sense (see pp. xi-xii) and philosophical theories on language as a reaction against its power (see pp. 196-197).

3. For a reinterpretation of Hui Shi 惠施 and Gongsun Long not as mere "sophists" but as positively concerned with politics and language, see Reding (1985:274-486).

4. *Zheng ming* as "correct names" in 8:42/5; *xing ming* as "shapes and names" in 12:82/3. It is interesting that Han Yu (768-824) and Lu Dian (1042-1102) nevertheless agree on the characterization of the *Pheasant Cap Master* as being a "mixture of *Huang lao* and *xing ming*" (see p. 246 n. 9).

5. On the importance of *zheng ming*, see Hsiao (1980:100); Reding (1985:248); Granet (1988:24-27, 364-67); and the authors quoted below.

6. Only when proofreading this manuscript, I read Gassmann's work on *zheng ming*. He, interestingly, translates *bu shun* as "not followed" or "not obeyed." "*Wenn die Bezeichnungen nicht richtiggestellt werden, dann wird den Worten nicht gefolgt.*" (Gassmann, 1988:110) By stressing the political context, this translation avoids well the notion of a correspondence with a given reality.

7. Exceptions include, for instance, Granet (1988:367); Fingarette (1972:11-15); Hall and Ames (1989:268-75); and Graham (1989:25). The following discussion organizes various views on *zheng ming* according to the type of correspondence between language and reality they promote, but without focusing on the specific views.

8. (*lorsqu'ils s'expriment en anglais*). By adding this remark, Granet means to suggest that this concern with a perfect correspondence—the *adaequatio* theme—is as Western as the language in which it is expressed.

9. Doubts about the authenticity of these passages expressed by Waley (1938:22, 172 n. 1) and Creel (1949:321-22) have been answered in detail by Reding (1985:252-55). The present discussion, however, concerns the interpretation of *zheng ming* rather than its dates.

10. "*S'il ne s'était d'abord agi que d'éviter les confusions verbales et les qualifications incorrectes, on ne voit pas comment, rien qu'en distribuant des noms, on aurait pu espérer introduire de l'ordre parmi les hommes . . .*" Bodde and Needham, both focusing on *zheng ming* in later times, appeal to the same correspondence idea between language and reality, but use it differently. According to Bodde, the ancient Chinese attribute to language such a magic power that a wrong attribution of names (for instance, naming

a black horse "white horse") causes "not only the human but the natural world, [to] be thrown into confusion" (Bodde, 1967:202). For Needham, *zheng ming* is to "call a spade a spade, no matter what powerful influences might be desirous of having it called something else" (Needham, 1956:9-10a).

11. "Il n'y a qu'une seule façon de corriger le nom: celui qui le porte doit se conformer à la norme que ce nom exprime. . . . Confucius parle de 'correction des noms', là où il s'agit en fait de corriger la réalité."

12. Other exponents of this interpretation are Hsiao Kung-chuan (1980:98-100) and Schwartz (1983:91-95).

13. Schwartz (1985:91-93) elaborates in greater detail on the fundamental difference between ideal and spoken language, "its correct imbedded meanings" versus the "terms as used in speech." According to him, the intellectual crisis of the late Zhou is not a "language crisis," as Waley had claimed, but a crisis "of the human abuse and distortion of language."

14. For Confucius's statements on flexibility, see, for instance, *Lun yu*, 4.10, 9.3, 13.5, 15.37, 17.13, and 18.8, tr. Lau (1988:73, 96, 119, 137, 145, and 151).

15. In general, Confucius seems to be more concerned with *yan* than with *ming*. He often insists on carefulness in speech; see, for instance, *Lun yu*, 1.14, 2.18, 4.24, and 19.25, tr. Lau (1988:61, 65, 75, and 157). For the accord of words and deeds, see *Lun yu*, 2.13, 5.10, and 14.27, tr. Lau (1988:64, 77, and 128). For reliability in speech, see *Lun yu*, 13.20 and 15.6, tr. Lau (1988:122 and 132-33).

16. Another direction is more epistemological, as in the Mohist' *Canons* and the *Xun zi*, 22, although in the latter it retains a direct political relevance.

17. For the attribution of *xing ming* to Shen Buhai, see Creel (1974:119-22). Robin Yates (1988:221) suggests that the expression refers to the flags and pennants in war, and hence originated in the military practice of the fifth century B.C. as a concrete method of organization.

18. Apart from its political and administrative sense, discussed below, it was related to strict terminological or epistemological discussions (Vandermeersch, 1965:226), military matters (Yates, 1988:220-22), and *Huang lao* views on language (Peerenboom, 1993:40, 55-56).

19. Concerning this close connection, see Granet (1988:366). An indication of their closeness is that even in the Mohist *Canons*, known for their rigorously unambiguous use of terminology, 命 are not distinguished

as "name" versus "order," but as noun (命 as "to name" and "to order"). The two, according to us, very different meanings are not distinguished (Graham, 1978:199).

20. See *Shen Buhai*, 7, tr. Creel (1974:358).

21. Although the opposition between nominalism and realism dates from the Middle Ages, its roots can be traced to Aristotle's criticism of Plato's eternal Forms or Ideas. See the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, VIII:195-98.

22. The Chinese variant of nominalism is stated most explicitly in the *Xun zi*. See *Xun zi*, 22:83/25-84/27, tr. Knoblock (1994:130-31). It is stated less explicitly and more technically in the Mohist *Canons* (A78, tr. Graham, 1978:325). A skeptical version of the same insight can be found in the *Zhuang zi*. See, for instance, *Zhuang zi*, 2:4/33, tr. Graham (1986:53). For a short outline of Chinese nominalist theories of names, see Makeham (1991:341-46).

23. Given that there was no realism in ancient China, the Chinese version of nominalism was taken for granted and not brought forward as a reaction *against* the existence of universals. The term *nominalism* to characterize ancient Chinese views on language can therefore be as misleading as the term *rhetoric* (see p. 8). Rather than calling it "positive nominalism," analogous with "positive rhetoric" (see p. 105), I will try to avoid the terms by adapting them to the Chinese context.

24. Following the *Dao zang* and *Yong le da dian* variant *li* 聖.

25. Here comes a difficult passage about the influence of the spiritual sage, in terms that remind one of the generic process in 5:19-20. Spirit (*shen*) is said to be generated from a division in the flow (of *qi*?), leading further to illumination (*ming*), shapes (*xing*), and achievements (*gong* 功).

26. Throughout the *Pheasant Cap Master*, heaven is often associated with *wen* (figures) and earth with *li* (pattern) as in 3:6/7 and 8:40/4.

27. For He guan zi's concern with ministers switching the ruler's *yan*, see 6:30/2, 9:56/3, and 13:93/1.

28. Emending 則 (then).

29. See, for instance, *Xun zi* on the exemplary rulers, Yao and Shun: "What agreed with them was right (*shi*); what differed from them was wrong (*fei*)" (*Xun zi*, 18:67/55-56, tr. Knoblock, 1994:40). See also Mo zi on the son of heaven: "What the superior judges right (*suo shi*), all must judge

it right (*shi*), what he judges wrong (*suo fei*), all must judge wrong (*fei*)" (*Mo zi*, 11:15/9-10; Mei, 1976:112)

30. For a parallel passage, see *Cheng*, 40b, tr. Zhang (1993:314).

31. This impression is reinforced by the following passage in which *ming* seems to be discussed as "fate" and differentiated from *shi*, "timing." Although I cannot make full sense of the passage, the cosmic power of *ming* does not contradict its human source in a treatise such as the *Pheasant Cap Master*, which magnifies the ruler in cosmic terms. For discussion of political failure in terms of "timing", see p. 125.

32. Instead of 立 (to set up) given in the commentary. Immediately below, the same line is repeated in the main text with *li*.

33. This seems to be a very popular passage, although there has thus far been no complete translation of chapter 5 published. The passage has been quoted or discussed by (in chronological order according to the first editions) Wiegner (1917:248); Forke (1964:530-31); Hackmann (1927:222-23); Wiegner (1930:330); Rand (1979-80:206-7); Ogata * (1982:51); Wu Guang (1985:159); Graham (1989.H:541); Peerenboom (1991:183-84); and Makeham (1991:362 n. 90). For another passage on the One as the inexhaustible source of order, see 11:79/10-80/1, tr. Graham (1989.H:515).

34. *Tu* (plan) means "picture," "map," and "chart" as well as "planning," possibly on the basis of a map. It occurs in the first sense in 3:7/4, 7:38/7, 10:68/10, and 18:115/7; and in the second sense in 13:91/2, 14:94/8, and 17:111/5. In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the combined sense seems to refer to action that is planned according to a "picture" of the heavens.

35. "Punishments and rewards are covenants" (3:6/10-7/1).

36. This interpretation would be consistent with the interpretation of Confucius's concern with *zheng ming* by Fung Yu-lan or Schwartz (above): "[T]he gap between the ideal reality and the corrupt actuality . . . exists for [Confucius] as much as for Socrates and Plato" (Schwartz, 1983:95).

37. For the human source of *tian*, see Creel (1970:493-506).

38. Makeham discusses the matter only in a note. He does not appeal to the connection with *Tai Yi* to support his view.

39. Because Peerenboom discusses the *Silk Manuscripts* and the *Pheasant Cap Master* from a "philosophical," not a "rhetorical," viewpoint, views on language are treated as peripheral, relying on the central discussion, which is concerned with a description of reality. A fuller evaluation of

Peerenboom's claim, therefore, has to await his evidence for ascribing such theories to the *Pheasant Cap Master* (see pp. 200-201). Typical for this approach is his ascription to Pheasant Cap Master of a, probably implicit, "theory" of language, where it mainly consists of passages that, at best, form a coherent view.

40. Once, in 8:47/6, the most exemplary of five types of rulers is called *Qi Huang* 氣皇 (Energy Majesty).

41. Discussion in terms of this opposition remains nevertheless relevant, albeit to teach its own irrelevance, thus providing a clearer view on the assumptions undergirding this discussion. For this reason, the inevitable use of English (philosophical) terms for discussing the Chinese texts can be at once inappropriate and revealing.

42. The evolution continues through conjuncture (*xiang jia* 相加) of energies, moments, and so forth into "projects," "achievements," "gain and loss," "fortune and misfortune," and "victory and defeat." It concludes: "There isn't anything that does not emanate from *qi*, interchange along the way (*dao*), relate (*yue*) in jobs (*shi*), adjust (*zheng*) to the right time (*shi*), separate in names (*ming*), and complete through the standard (*fa*)." The passage is followed by the redefinitions of *shen* (spirit), *ming* (illumination), and *fa* (standard) quoted earlier.

43. Following the commentary in taking 和 always "marks action which is reciprocal, not of one agent only on the other," and uses this as an argument in dating the *Pheasant Cap Master* as a pre-Han text. In that case, the passage would mean that the network of ministers functions frantically, all urging and commanding each other, but without genuine concern for their ruler.

44. Following the commentary in reading 誠 (sincerity). This is possible but not necessary.

45. *Suo* 索 (seek) reminds one of 4:10/8, where the art of seeking competent men for government was compared with a tailor's selection of good workers (see p. 112).

46. According to Zhang Jincheng (1975:687), the *wu qi* 五氣 are cold, hot, wind, drought, and moist. More concretely, they are the five types of air or climate, emerging from the five directions (north, east, south, west, center) and associated with the seasons. For the four seasons and five phases, see Major (1993:186-87).

47. For a parallel, see *Cheng*, 37b, tr. Zhang (1993:306).

48. *Xi* 蓍 could mean "to predict" by means of a fixed norm, referring to scientific certainty, or "to value" the right person for saving the age, as in 2:4/5, or a combination of both: predict the coming of the right person?

49. Chapter 17 is too corrupt to make out what the argument may have been. This passage is followed by a redefinition of the term *confusion* in a political sense (see p. 148) and a passage on the ideal army taking the sky as a model (see below).

50. *Sai* 塞 (strategic frontier points) refers here to the four extreme regions or boundaries. In the *Li ji*, 14.18a10, Legge (1986:IV:29) explains that the four *sai* refer to the barbarian tribes that at the four directions form a covering-sealing.

51. This is the most well-known *He guan zi* passage to scholars of Chinese astronomy. See Schlegel (1875:503-4); Chalmers (1971:93); and De Saussure (1911:353).

52. *Shen ming*, here translated in terms of divine beings, is one of those terms that defy easy translation, because it neglects the familiar distinction between the human and superhuman realms. Separately, *shen* and *ming* are attributed to the sage (5:20/5-7), but combined they often refer to divine beings with whom the sages communicate.

53. The idea of tension and variety creating the most powerful unity is recurrent throughout the *Pheasant Cap Master*, most particularly in chapter 14, "Military Policy" (*Bing zheng* 兵政) (14:94/7-96/10). See also 5:19/10-20/2 and, in relation to the four directions, 5:23/7.

54. Reading 揅 (install).

55. *Yi* (leaning/dependent) is often used interchangeably with *qi* 倚 because he is biased in his reliance on men, which is the ultimate cause of his state's ruin.

56. But in 8:44/7-9 the ruler's person is said to be the test (*ji*) of heaven, earth, and yin yang. *Ji* 稽 is one of the many terms referring to order and norms in the *Pheasant Cap Master*. For a discussion of the term, see Williams (1987:127-29, 183-84 n. 373) and Tang Lan (1975:10-12).

57. *Shu* 數 (calculation) can refer to different things in different situations, as, for instance, to "prognostication" in astronomy or to "logistics" in military affairs.
58. For a loose parallel, see 9:49/5-10; for a closer parallel, see *Jing fa*, 6:12b6-8, tr. Zhang (1993:246).
59. *Lan* (spill/overflow) reminds one of the *lan shou* (spill-heads) mentioned in 7:35/9 and 36/6 and noted as the cause for the state's destruction (see p. 119).
60. Each constellation stands for a season, with its own type of *qi*. Williams (1987:231 n. 103) remarks that the positions given here are less than perfect. The front/south where the "Extender" is located should be southeast and the right/west with the "Axe" is due south. The "Pole" and "Horn" are correctly located in, respectively, the back/north and left/east. Obviously, Pheasant Cap Master was more a political philosopher than an astronomer.
61. Following Zhang Jincheng (1975:654-55) in reading 究 (exhaust).
62. Following Yu Yue (1899:35) in emending 究 (exhaust/go to the extreme), as it fits in the context and occurs in 9:50/6 and 9:54/4.
63. Following Zhang Jincheng (1975:655) in changing 離 (gap/separation).
64. *Wu* is not restricted to a material thing. Here, it is anything determined by a name, shape, task, position, and so forth, as opposed to the ruler, who ought to be free from such determinations and, therefore, is no *wu*. For a similar idea, with *wu* used verbally, see chapter 11: *Yong le da dian*, 19743:168 "residing in heaven he does not *wu*" (see p. 214).
65. This whole passage (as other passages in the *Pheasant Cap Master*) reminds one very strongly of *Guo yu*, 21.1a8ff, tr. de Harlez (1895:257). The relationship between the *Pheasant Cap Master* and the *Guo yu*, *Discourses of the State of Yue*, *B* (*Yue yu hsia* 越語下) would be worth investigating.
66. This last line also occurs in 11:80/1, where it is also related to spirits (*shen*). The first half of the expression recurs in 18:110/6, where it is also related to the "One." *Shen fang* 神方, finally, occurs in 11:78/10.
67. According to Needham (1959:250), it was called the "Twinkling indicator"; according to Harper (1978-79:2), the "Far-Flight," explained as "a bright star in Bootes which was treated as an extension of the hande

of the Big Dipper, relative to the duodenary sequence of Earthly Branches."

68. Parallel with *Li ji*, 2.16b1, tr. Legge (1986:III:92, my italics): "... that with the Pointer of the Northern Bushel should be reared aloft (in the centre of the host):—*all to excite and direct the fury (of the troops).*"

69. Such are, I believe, the "pictures" (*tu*) according to which the ruler names and shapes in 5.19/7 (see pp. 181-182). For the "dark warrior," see Major (1986:73-75).

70. "Round without compasses are the figures (*wen*) of heaven; square without carpenter's hook the patterns (*li*) of earth. Heaven is what moves complying with figures; earth what initiates complying with patterns" (11:77/8-9). This is probably the strongest suggestion of realism and foundational naturalism in the *Pheasant Cap Master*. But, in chapter 9, Cheng Jiu is described as follows: "Adding (*zeng* 增) compasses would not make him more round; increasing him with a carpenter's hook not more square" (9:58/6). This is the explanation of He guan zi's claim that, because Cheng Jiu "heavened," no one was able to add to (*zeng*) to his loftiness (9:50/4).

71. For other verbal uses of *tian*, see 4:17/8, 14:94/7, 18:113/5, 18:114/ 7, and 9:49/2-9 (see pp. 147-148).

72. This line occurs right between two lines that are parallel within and thus maybe later added from—the *Owl Rhapsody* (see p. 69).

73. If language is seen as dependent upon reality, it either clearly mirrors the facts or leads to a mere relativism in which namers name as they please. Passages in the *Pheasant Cap Master* that do not easily fit into this either/or alternative are then rejected or adapted in translation (see p. 203).

Chapter 9: Beyond Language

1. The most popular reading of Daoist texts, and of the *Lao zi* in particular, is metaphysical in the sense that it attributes to the author the view of an "eternal Way" as an abstract order that lies beyond reality. This interpretation is inherent in the translation of the first stanza: "The way that can be way-ed [advocated as a way] is not *the* eternal Way." This translation not only suggests that there exists an eternal Way beyond the advocacy of any particular way, but also makes awkward the parallelism with the following line—is there also an eternal Name? Furthermore, it

fails to explain the relation between "ways" and "names." If one replaces "*the* eternal Way" by "a constant way," the author merely negates the Confucian, Legalist, or Mohist claim to a constant way paved by an unambiguous and powerful network of evaluative or political names. For the antimetaphysical interpretation of this stanza, see also Hansen (1992: 215-19).

2. *Sun Bin bing fa*, 30; see Zhang Zhenze (1984:193).
3. See Skinner (1991:40-43) and below. This is a variant of Plato's criticism of rhetoric in the *Gorgias*. See pp. 104-105 and IJsseling (1976:7-9).
4. See Skinner (1991:33-37, 47-52). Hobbes calls "Laws of Nature" all the virtues that contribute to the formation of peace, such as gratitude, modesty, justice, and so forth (*Leviathan*, 15:216).
5. "*Ni Dieu, ni Loi*" (Granet, 1988:476). Needham (1956:581) also notes that, paradoxically, a very personal God and the scientifically impersonal order in nature are intimately related in the West and are both absent in ancient China.
6. Doeringer (1990) has characterized this paradigm in early Chinese thought as centricity, circularity, and circumflexity.
7. See also Hsu Dau-lin (1970:115-16) for such a restriction of the understanding of human influence in early Chinese thought.
8. I have translated *wu* as "others" in opposition to the "self" of "self-permissive."
9. For the meanings of *fa*, see p. 159. Needham suggests translating *zhang* as "to seal" or "to mold." As a noun, it refers to a "mold," "system," or "pattern" and thus suggests the act of patterning or ordering. See, for instance, 10:74/5 and 9:49/9 in relation to the four seasons. Its first meaning in this context is probably that the model or norm of the One reveals all the constellations by ordering them.
10. See Vittinghoff (1981:53); Rand (1979-80:208); and Williams (1987:123). Chinese and Japanese scholars such as Tan Jiajian (1986:58); Ogata * (1982:50); and Hosokawa (1979) also discuss the *Pheasant Cap Master* in terms of "norms" or "laws," but they do not explicitly address Needham's claim. Because they are unburdened by or unconscious of the Western heritage of a term such as *law*, their use of terminology is even vaguer than that of Western scholars who discuss the topic only marginally.
11. The question has been discussed in relation to other texts by Bodde (1981:299-315) and Turner (1989).

12. I will not follow this division of the *He guan zi* in *Huang lao* and non-*Huang lao* chapters, for a number of reasons. First, it is one-sided, largely depending on its resemblance to the four *Silk Manuscripts*, and more particularly on Peerenboom's reading of these manuscripts and his consequent definition of *Huang lao*. The division is also premature, relying on a superficial view of textual parallels between the texts, mainly based on Tang Lan (1975:17-27) (see p. 250 n. 7), and overlooking passages in the so-called *Huang lao* chapters that promote a "rule of man" (see, for instance, 8:47/4-5, where the ruler is said to "fix heaven and earth," and 9:81/5, where cosmic order is said to depend on the sage). Peerenboom also overlooks close connections between *Huang lao* chapters (according to him) promoting a "rule of law" and others advancing a "rule of man" (see, for instance, 7:33/4-34/1 versus 9:81/5, and 8:47/4-5 versus 11:79/6-7). Further, he does not consistently adhere to his own division: Peerenboom first rejects chapter 14 as being "dramatically at odds" with *Huang lao* thought (p. 181) but nevertheless quotes a line from the same chapter as an illustration of the "foundational naturalism in the *He guan zi*" (p. 179).

13. For Peerenboom's arguments against Needham and for his understanding of a foundational naturalism primarily attributed to the four *Silk Manuscripts* and only secondarily to the *Pheasant Cap Master*, see Peerenboom (1993:20-102).

14. For the association of heaven with the "pure" (*qing* 寧), see *Lao zi*, 39, tr. Henricks (1992:100).

15. For a similar expression, see *Zhuang zi*, 20:51/6, tr. Graham (1986:121).

16. For the expression "*yang zhi yan*" in 9:50/5, see p. 266 n. 20.

17. For a loose parallel, see *Jing fa*, 8:16a5-6, tr. Zhang (1993:256). In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the four seasons are usually considered as equivalent and not ordered as three versus one. See, for instance, 5:21/2-4 and 10:70/9-71/3.

18. For a similar opposition in interpretation, see Graham (1989.H: 511-12) and Peerenboom (1991:177) concerning one of He guan zi's explicit redefinitions of *tian* in 8:40/9-41/2 (see p. 146).

19. This is a Western plague that Granet and Needham have already tried to cure. Even though (or perhaps because) Peerenboom's reading of the *Silk Manuscripts* rigorously analyzes and explicitly defends an interpretation that implicitly pervades many Western discussions of ancient Chinese texts, his work provides a major step toward this cure by making their

assumptions explicit. For a more detailed discussion of Peerenboom's analysis of this "plague," see Defoort (1994:353-57).

20. For a positive use of *ming* as reputation, see, for instance, all the occurrences of the term in chapter 12, "Arms of the Age" (*Shi bing*).

21. See, for instance, *Lao zi*, 1 and 25, tr. Henricks (1992:188 and 236). The expression *wu ming* (nameless) does not occur in the *Pheasant Cap Master*.

22. For the discussion between the Later Mohists, Xun zi, Zhuang zi, and passages of the *Lao zi* on names, see Graham (1989:139-43, 199-202, 223-31, and 261-67).

23. Reading 使 (cause/command).

24. For views on names in the *Lao zi* and its author's preference for the uncarved as unnamed, see La Fargue (1992:236-37 and 249) and Graham (1989:223-31).

25. See also 17:106/10: "A way only arrives somewhere after there is response; a job only gets completed after there is power (*de*).\" The political connection of "get" (*de*), "power" (*de*), and "(make) arrive" (*zhi*) is recurrent in the *Pheasant Cap Master*: see 1:2/4-3/2, 5:23/5, 6:28/2-3, and 17:107/ 1-2.

26. For the gate as an image of the way that cannot be named, see *Lao zi*, 1, tr. Henricks (1992:188). In 6:27/4, the ideal government of the former kings is characterized as "the gate of heaven and earth."

27. The late Zhou ideological reconstructions of nature and the golden past are such attempts either to provide ideological justification for the system or to criticize it on the basis of a higher norm. Theories of "natural law" in the West can be seen as similar attempts, whether founding the ruler's laws on a Divine Lawgiver (himself unfounded) or on Reason, Nature, and so forth. For a discussion of natural law theories in Western philosophy, see Peerenboom (1992:20-26).

28. For a discussion of *yi* (one), see *Shi liu jing*, 9:30b4-31b4, tr. Zhang (1993:290-92). *Shi zi*, 1.3a; *Lü shi chun qiu*, 17.7:18b-19a, tr. Wilhelm (1979:286); *Huai nan zi*, 14.6b6-12; *Shangjun shu*, 17.5a5-8a9, tr. Duyvendak (1974:274-82); *Xun zi*, 8:25/110-11, tr. Knoblock (1990:82); and *Xun zi*, 10:35/85, tr. Knoblock (1990:133).

29. It is remarkable that neither Confucius, Mencius, nor Xun zi support or advocate a revival of the Zhou house in their own times.

30. Criticism of the Confucian position did not come only from obvious rivals, such as, for instance, the author of *Zhuang zi*, 10:24/19-20, tr. Graham (1986:208) or *Han fei*, 44:10a7, tr. Liao (1959:II:224), but also from highly principled "refusers," Confucian models such as Bo Yi and Shu Qi (see *Shi ji*, 61:2123, tr. Watson, 1969:12).
31. Many similar paradoxes can be found in the Western tradition. See, for instance, Derrida (1984) on the signature on the Declaration of Independence. With his signature, the founding father of the United States, Jefferson, represents the people who only by this very signature come to exist as a "people" entitled to sign and be represented.
32. One aspect of the historical or mythological approach (the various approaches cannot be sharply distinguished) may consist in the un-doubling of dynastic founders. King Wen was the virtuous founder of the Zhou dynasty, while King Wu performed the "execution." A politically more relevant case may be the "division of labor" between Xiang Yu and Liu Bang in the overthrow of the Qin dynasty and the establishment of the Han: while the former committed regicide by killing the last Qin ruler, the latter could be remembered as the virtuous founder of the Han dynasty.
33. Although Hobbes was the most fervent among the seventeenth-century philosophers in his attacks on the rhetorical power of language, and also the most thorough in his domestication of evaluative language to a natural law, Skinner has argued that he nonetheless remained the most conscious of the inevitable power of language. Hobbes therefore suggested installing the sovereign as an Arbitrator whose decisions would be commonly accepted as final, even though inevitably arbitrary. His conclusion is that, "if we wish to overcome the threat of *paradiastole* by fixing our moral language unambiguously on to the world, we can only hope to do so in the end by fiat" (Skinner, 1991:56). Therefore, Skinner concludes: "It is hard to imagine a greater tribute to the power assigned by the culture of the Renaissance to the art of eloquence" (Skinner, 1994:286).
34. Following the Dun Huang commentary, which apparently quotes an edition that has *zai ji* 徃人 (get others). See Fu Zengxiang (1929:723).
35. Following Pu Weizhong (1992:814) in reading *fen ming* (allotted names). Zhang Jincheng (1975:669) combines *ming* with *yue* 冃 (it is called). The translation would then be: "Without shape but with divisions, it is called 'Big Which.'"
36. If the interpretation of this passage is right, the ruler's invisible aspect would be associated with *dao* and his visible attraction of ministers

with *de*. This differs from other passages, where the ruler is associated with the tenuous One and the sage with the complete way (see pp. 125-126).

37. *Wu zheng* also occurs in 8:46/10-48/5, where it stands for five types of government ranging in gradually diminishing power; and in 8:44/7, where they are associated with the "five illuminations" (*wu ming*). The expression occurs in a political sense in the *Guan zi*, 40.5b-6a and 53.10a, and it is the title of the third section of the *Shi liu jing*, tr. Zhang (1993:272-75). For a discussion of *wu zheng* in the *He guan zi* and the four *Silk Manuscripts*, see Li Xueqin (1992:340-43).

38. Considering that *dao* is a generic noun in classical Chinese (like *water* or *fruit*), one wishes to translate it as "the five policies [refer to] way," not *the* way. I have therefore translated it in plural here. For *way* as a generic noun and its implications, see Graham (1989:402).

39. For the opposition of *yin* (tone) and *sheng* (sound) as the relation between ruler and minister, see p. 115. According to the commentary and to Williams (1987:226 n. 71), *gu* 故 (origin) refers to different places of origin. For Graham (1989.H:526), it is the original that appears if one pays attention to the five aspects of one's voice largely taken. This interpretation receives support from the *Zhou li*, 35.2a-b, tr. Biot (1851:II:319-20 nn. 1-5). The five ways to examine a minister are by his words, expression, breath, ears, and eyes. According to Biot, they are called *wu sheng* because the first refers to the voice.

40. Following the Dun huang commentary, which gives *he* 和. See Fu Zengxiang (1929:721).

41. The three consecutive parallels are 3:7/1-2, 3:7/3, and 3:7/5-6 with, respectively, *Lao zi*, 14, 17, and 21, tr. Henricks (1992:214, 220, and 228). See also *Zhuang zi*, 18:46/13-14, tr. Watson (1968:191).

42. In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, *xin* 情 (genuine feelings), with the population, as in 9:54/4. It could mean that he is as reliable as heaven and penetrates into the hearts of his subjects.

43. This passage is clearly corrupt. I follow the variant given in the commentary (*gui bu neng jian* 能為人業) so that the parallelism of four characters is preserved. Since the commentary to the following line seems to assume *gui bu neng jian*, the commentator probably had an edition with this variant. He explains that "the one who is good at undertaking the enterprise for others, is subtle and minute. Even ghosts are not able to pry into his

secrecy." The two commentaries are therefore probably from different hands.

44. *Ye xing* refers to the title of chapter 3 and also occurs in 19:120/10. For its occurrence in other works, see *Huai nan zi*, 6.3a7, tr. Le Blanc (1985:123) and *Guan zi*, 2.5a7, 53.9a4, and 64.664-5, tr. Rickett (1985:71).

45. Reading 麗 (beautiful) and combining it with *wen* (cultural) in "decorate/beautify."

46. The soil may refer to the earth; the supreme pure, to heaven. In 8:45/3 the power of the sage is said to reach to the supreme pure (*tai qing* 太清).

47. I have not found the expression *ji ci* 國次, translated by Zhang (1993:219) as "the Order of a Nation."

48. *Wu shou* 無首 reminds one of 3:7/2. Literally, it means the "headless," "beginning-less," or "having *wu* (the least-shaped reality) as the beginning." For *wu* as beginning, see *Zhuang zi*, 6:17/46, 14:37/18, and 23:63/60, tr. Graham (1986:87, 165, and 104).

49. *Yi* could also be translated as "unified," "unique," "common," "unifying," and so forth. This claim may be related to 8:46/5, in which the ruler must have the desire to know the myriad things through the one; to 5:24/7, in which successful men are said to differ in concrete undertakings but to be one in what they find good; or to 10:73/2, where the crucial point is "know the one expectation to order the one man."

50. Instead of *yu* 象 (image) given in the commentary, because of a similar expression in 17:108/6 (see ©©). In 6:26/1-2, the sage is said to "*xiang* them." Whatever its meaning, *yu* must refer to some powerful action, as do all the other verbs in this passage.

51. I have translated *zheng* (correct/fixed) and *liu* 流 (fluid) as opposites because they are said to arise side by side. In 9:51/4 the ruler generates the myriad things without harming them.

52. The expression *ming li* (name and pattern) is the title of the ninth section of the *Jing fa*, tr. Zhang (1993:259-63) and familiar in neo-Daoist philosophy after A.D. 200 (Graham, 1989.H:508).

53. Following Sun Yirang (1895:5b-6a) in reading 天璣). The passage describes confusion as the state in which the myriad things are not yet separated from each other: "Looking you don't see it, listening you don't hear it, groping you don't touch it; hence we call it 'Simple'. The Simple had no shape nor bounds (*wu xing le*)" (*Lie zi*, 1.3b10-11, tr. Graham, 1990:19).

54. Following the indirect evidence in the *Yong le da dian* variant, 美. For the general superiority of the *Yong le da dian* quote, see p. 87.

55. Corrected according to the Dun huang manuscript. See Fu Zengxiang (1929:721) and p. 209. This culinary image of "the harmony of the five tastes" occurs in the *Li ji*, 3.10b, tr. Legge (1986:III:229) and *Huai nan zi*, 1.12a, tr. Morgan (1969:18).

56. The moon analogy parallels *Huai nan zi*, 3:3b, tr. Major (1993:65) and *Lü shi chun qiu*, 9.5:10a, tr. Wilhelm (1979:114). The following quotes belong to a long parallel passage with *Guan zi*, 4.17a4-17b1, tr. Rickett (1985:113). Of the two parallel passages, the *Pheasant Cap Master* is clearly inferior. (1) While the *Guan zi* offers an orderly argument, the *Pheasant Cap Master* is longer and confused. (2) Of the lines in common with the *Guan zi*, there are no remarkable linking phrases within the *Pheasant Cap Master*. (3) Between these lines there are parallels with other works, such as the *Huai nan zi*, *Lü shi chun qiu*, the four *Silk Manuscripts*, and *Yi Yin jiu zhu*. (4) In the *Pheasant Cap Master*, the parallel lines do not connect as well with the rest as they do in the *Guan zi*. But, at two points, the *Pheasant Cap Master* variants are clearly preferable to the *Guan zi*; see Rickett (1985:113 nn. 59, 60). Only in the latter case does Rickett refer to the *Pheasant Cap Master*. One of the possibly much later authors of the *Pheasant Cap Master* may have used an early version of the *Guan zi* or a common source.

57. The ideal of transformation (*hua*) in government is a recurrent topic in the *Pheasant Cap Master*. See 4:18/5, 5:20/4, 5:20/8, 16:103/3, and 17:104/1; the "transforming sit" (*hua zuo* 化坐) correcting itself in 6:28/1; and the expression "plant customs and set up transformation" (*shu su li hua*) in 7:33/8-9, 9:49/2, 9:51/7, and 9:57/6.

58. Following Zhang Jincheng (1975:725-26) in adding the indirect evidence from the *Yong le da dian*.

59. *Wu*, verbally used, also occurs in 17:111/7: "That heaven brings things forth, but doesn't act as a thing (*Su wu*), is because its origin lies in

yin and yang." It also reminds one of 4:9/5, in which heaven is praised for not "returning to be a thing." Both expressions are paralleled in the *Yi Yin jiu zhu*; see Li Xueqin (1974:22-23).

60. Reading 固 (inherently/definitely).

61. *Si zhi* 死之 (die for him) also occurs in this meaning in *Zhuang zi*, 6:16/22, tr. Watson (1968:80) and *Shang jun shu*, 4:14b, tr. Duyvendak (1974:201).

62. As it is, *wei ming* 未萌, literally "not-yet-sprouted," as it occurs in 10:66/6 and in other texts, such as *Shang jun shu*, 1:1b; *Shi ji*, 43:1807; *Shi ji*, 68:2229; *Hou Han shu*, 28A:963; and *Xin xu*, 9.6a.

63. The expression *qie tian di* 挈天地 also occurs in *Zhuang zi*, 6:16/ 31, tr. Watson (1968:81) in a very similar passage. Having discussed the shapeless *dao*, its ultimate subtlety, and its priority in relation to heaven and earth, the author lists a number of mythical persons who all got hold of this *dao*. The first, Mister Xiwei, got it and "held up heaven and earth."

64. For 環 (encircle/contain) given in the commentary. The translation is tentative.

65. *Zhao* and *guang zhao* 光昭 are also related to *ming* (illumination) in, respectively, 9:50/7 and 5:20/6. According to the commentary, *ming* (lumen) is a soft light, characteristic of the moon; *guang* (brightness) is a bright source of light, characteristic of the sun. Like both of these, the sage does not shine on himself.

66. This chapter may not have belonged to the original core of the *Pheasant Cap Master*. I have mainly followed the indirect evidence of the *Qun shu zhi yao*, 34.15b-16a and the *Tai ping yu lan*, 724.4b.

67. For a similar idea, see *Lao zi*, 17, tr. Henricks (1992:220). Zhang Jincheng (1975:749) suggests emending *qi xia* 天下 (those in the empire), as it occurs in the parallel in 11:79/6-7 and because the commentary gives other variants, indicating uncertainty concerning the original character.

Appendix 1: Taboos

1. Two uncertain cases are: (1) In 43/6-7: 人本無害、以端天地 (man's roots receive no harm, and thereby he corrects heaven and earth). (2) In 42/

5-6: 五氣失端，四時不成 (if the five types of energetic stuff lose their origin/correct model (?), the four seasons are not completed). In the previous line, however, *zheng* occurs. According to Zhou Fagao (1979:109, 158, 236) *duan* does not rhyme with *cheng* (complete) while *zheng* (correct) does.

2. One *zheng* 正 (gong) in 9:64/9.
3. The indirect evidence in the *Lu shi, qian ji, san.2b* has three times *zheng* 正, each of which seems to be preferable (see p. 243 n. 22).
4. Chapter 10 contains both *nei duan* 內政 (10:73/8). If *duan* in the first were used as a taboo for the *zheng* that occurs in the second, that would make chapter 10 inconsistent in its observance of the taboo.
5. One *zheng* (gong) in 12:90/2.
6. 14:96/9 refers back to the title and must stand for *zheng* 政 (government/policy).

Appendix 2: Names

7. The division in the first four tables follows Thompson (1979:138-47). All dates are B.C. Persons who, as Shun, were both minister and ruler, are classified according to their position in the *Pheasant Cap Master*. Names that appear in a cluster (same page and same number of occurrences) are treated as one item.

8. Ogata * (1983:21, 23 n. 17) adds a certain "Ruo Yao 鵲姚, Lord of Chu of the mid-eighth century. I do not think there is any need to identify this person, because the *Qun shu zhi yao* variant *xi* (previously) is preferable to *ruo* (if). See Sun Renhe (1929:116); Zhang Jincheng (1975:747); and pp. 82-83.

9. See *Shi ji*, 12.473 and 28.1397, tr. Chavannes (1967:II:498 n. 1): "*lea neuf.Souverains*": "perhaps the nine Majesties of Man." Zhang Jincheng (1975:656-57) explains the term as the nine brothers who together form the "Majesties of Man." Joined to the heavenly and earthly Majesty, they constitute one of the "three Majesties" (*San Huang*).

10. According to Gaubil (1819:329), quoted by De Saussure (1919:565), *Tai Yi* was a little star close to the pole in the twenty-third century B.C., and thus came to stand for the pole as well as the home of its god. For its veneration, officially instituted in 113 B.C., see Loewe (1986:663).

11. According to Neugebauer (1986:237 n. 8), this is King Zhao of Chu (r. 515-489), who in 506-505 fled to Sui and was attacked by the state of Wu. The occurrence in chapter 16 is very dubious (see p. 83).
12. King of Yue (r. 496-465) who won against King Fu Chai of Wu.
13. King of Wu (r. 495-473) who was conquered by the rival state of Yue.
14. King of Zhao (r. 457-425) who, together with Wei and Hán, attacked and divided Jin in 453 B.C.
15. A legendary doctor. See *Shi ji*, 105:2785-94; *Han shi wai zhuan*, 10.9, tr. Hightower (1952:328-32); *Han fei zi*, 21.2b-3a, tr. Liao (1959:I:214-15); *Zhan guo ce*, 4:132-33, tr. Crump (1979:74-75); and *Huai nan zi*, 18.163, tr. Robinet (1993:200).
16. A legendary doctor. See *Shi ji*, 105:2788; *Huai nan zi*, 18.163, tr. Robinet (1993:200).
17. The legendary inventor of writing and minister of the Yellow Emperor. See, for instance, *Huai nan zi*, 19.8a, tr. Morgan (1959:232) and *Han fei zi*, 49.5a, tr. Liao (1959:II:286). See also Thompson (1979:142 n. 59).
18. A monster and minister of the Yellow Emperor, conquered by the latter. See Lewis (1990:190-204).
19. These three high-principled "refusers" were Confucian models. Bo Yi and Shu Qi were sons of the Shang ruling house, refusing to eat under the Zhou rule. See *Lun yu*, 18.8, tr. Lau (1988:151). It is not clear when Shentu Di lived. According to Allan (1981:114), he was "another refuser from the beginning of the Zhou." Watson (1961:302) speculates that he was a minister during the late Xia dynasty who committed suicide in order to avoid serving King Tang of the Shang dynasty.
20. These four men were all good ministers of bad kings: the first one serving the tyrant Jie of the Xia dynasty, the three others serving the tyrant Zhou Xin of the Shang dynasty.
21. These two men were vicious ministers of tyrant Zhou Xin who were eventually punished by King Wu of the Zhou dynasty. See *Shi ji*, 3, tr. Chavannes (1976:I:203).
22. These two men, good ministers of bad rulers, died because of their loyal advice. The former served under Zhou Xin and was killed by him. The latter served under King Fu Chai of Wu and was forced to commit suicide. For the former, see *Lun yu*, 18.1, tr. Lau (1988:149). For the latter, see *Shi ji*, 31:1472, tr. Chavannes (1976:IV:29).

23. Successful ministers of founding rulers, respectively, of King Tang of the Shang dynasty and of King Wen of the Zhou dynasty.
24. Successful minister of Duke Huan of Qi. See, for instance, *Guan zi*, 20, tr. Rickett (1985:318-47).
25. The former was a minister of King Zhao of Chu (r. 515-489); the latter served Duke Mu of Qin (r. 659-621).
26. The first was minister of Duke Wen of Jin (r. 636-628); the second, of King Gou Jian of Yue (r. 496-465). See, for instance, *Guo yu*, 21, tr. de Harlez (1895:257).
27. An exemplary general of the state of Lu, serving Duke Zhuang (r. 693-662), who retreated three times in his fight against the state of Qi, but later recovered all the lost territory (see pp. 130-131).
28. General of Yan who lost in 242 B.C. against General Pang Xuan (see pp. 131-132).
29. General of the state of Zhao, who conquered general Ju Xin of Yan in 242 B.C. (see p. 26).
30. Mythical tribes that were first chased by Shun and later subjected by Yu, the founder of the Xia dynasty.
31. A strong clan in the state of Jin during the fifth century B.C., before they lost power and the state became divided into Hán, Wei, and Zhao (453, officially recognized in 403 B.C.).
32. Traditionally, the first (and legendary) Chinese dynasty (twenty-third to eighteenth century B.C.), founded by Emperor Yu.
33. Or Shang 商, traditionally the second Chinese dynasty (eighteenth to eleventh century B.C.), founded by King Tang.
34. Traditionally, the third Chinese dynasty (eleventh to third century B.C.), founded by Kings Wen and Wu.
35. One of the three states taking over Jin after the division.
36. According to Ogata * (1983:23 n. 16), Sui was a state at war with Chu. According to Neugebauer (1986:237 n. 8), it is the state to which King Zhao of Chu fled in 506-505, when attacked by Wu, as told in *Shi ji*, 40.1715-16, tr. Chavannes (1967:IV:375-78). I follow Sun Yirang (1995:6a-b) and Zhang Jincheng (1975:747) in their preference for the *Qun shu zhi yao*, which does not mention it (see pp. 82-83).
37. Territories of Chu in 533 and 531 B.C. See *Shi ji*, 40.1705, tr. Chavannes (1967:IV:360).

38. The small area to which the state of Yue was originally restricted after its first defeat by Wu. See *Guo yu*, 21, tr. de Harlez (1895:256-61).

39. Each name, even though occurring several times in one chapter, counts as only one.

Appendix 3: Bibliographical Evidence

40. See also Williams (1987:39, 80-98).

41. The *Zi chao* was an anthology of philosophical writings by Yu Zhongrong 尚似孫 (1160-1220).

42. The catalogue was completed in 656 under the direction of Wei Zheng 魏徵 (581-643).

43. It was completed in 721 by Wu Qiong 晁公武 (fl. 1140-70).

44. It should fit Han Yu's sixteen *pian* and was used for the *Jiu Tang shu*. See Williams (1987:83-87, 145 n. 101, 167 n. 251).

45. There were two circulating recensions of Han Yu's *Reading the Pheasant Cap Master (Du He guan zi)*: one in sixteen and one in nineteen *pian*. See p. 246 n. 6 and Williams (1987:169 n. 262).

46. He is explicit that Han Yu's edition in sixteen *pian* is not complete.

47. On the Yuan edition by Zhao Xibian 姚德續, see Teng and Biggerstaff (1971:15-16).

48. It was comprised in a longer text of eight *juan*. See Graham (1978:68) and p. 35.

Appendix 4: Indirect Evidence

49. For more information on these sources, see Williams (1987:81-109).

50. This line occurs in the text, not in the commentary. Text and commentary were both written by Luo Mi. On the value of the *Lu shi* variants, see p. 243 n. 22.

51. This passage belongs to the *Shen zi* 慎子 fragments collected by Thompson (1979:287).
52. For the older sources of the *Tai ping yu lan*, see Thompson (1979:92-94).
53. This line occurs in *Shen zi*, 99, tr. Thompson (1979:287).
54. The absence of 1:1/6-2/4 is a confirmation of the Dun huang version and Fu Zengxiang's suspicion of commentarial intrusion (see pp. 74-75).
55. The *Yi lin* was compiled by Ma Zong 馬總 (d. 823) and may contain passages from the *Zi chao* (fifth century). See Williams (1987:76, 80) and appendix 3.
56. Liu Zongyuan is not directly quoting the *Pheasant Cap Master* but the same line from the *Shi ji*, 61, as a proof that Sima Qian did not know of the *Pheasant Cap Master* (see pp. 249-250 n. 2).

Appendix 5: The Chapters

57. Dialogical chapters are indicated by "D"; essay chapters, by "E."
58. Neugebauer (1986) is indicated by "N"; Vittinghoff (1981), by "V"; and Williams (1987), by "W." Only the first has been published. For a complete translation into modern Chinese, see Pu Weizhong (1992).
59. Or "Arms Surpassed" if we emend *jin* (near) to *bing* 兵 (arms). *Jin* does not occur in the chapter, which talks about an army being surpassed before even starting to fight. An argument for this emendation is that, except for the dubious chapter 16, the titles of all other chapters can be found in the chapter (Graham, 1989.H:499).
60. *Lu* 錄 (indistinct) in 10:68/5 describes things as they just come to being.

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